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TASS Reports on Gerasimov's 19 Sep Briefing

No Transport of Syrian Troops

LD1909145490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1420 GMT 19 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Yuriy Rublevskiy and Oleg Polovko]

[Text] Moscow, 19 Sep (TASS)—At today's briefing, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, denied reports by a number of Soviet press organs alleging that requests have been made to the Soviet Government "to help in the transferring of Syrian troops to the conflict zone" in the Persian Gulf. He pointed out: "We have received no such request." He also said that a REUTER report from Brussels, claiming that the Soviet Union "has agreed to transport U.S. arms on a large vessel," is not in accordance with reality.

Replying to a question as to whether the USSR intends to send its troops to the Persian Gulf zone, Gennadiy Gerasimov noted that the USSR is acting in this respect exclusively within the framework of the UN Security Council resolutions.

"We are in favor of intensifying sanctions," the Soviet diplomat pointed out in reply to a question about the USSR's attitude to the possibility of establishing an air blockade against Iraq. At the same time, he noted that when drawing up additional sanctions, it is essential to bear in mind that over 5,000 Soviet citizens are still working in Iraq, and that 160 of them are women. At the end of their contracts they leave the country using regular Aeroflot fights. It is necessary to more precisely define what will be included in the concept of an "air blockade," and whether such regular passenger flights will be included in it, or whether there is some point in restricting it solely to cargo flights.

Albanian Bid To Join CSCE

LD1909152890 Moscow TASS in English 1519 GMT 19 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Yuriy Rublevskiy and Oleg Polovko]

[Text] Moscow September 19 TASS—Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov said at today's briefing that an Albanian delegation had circulated a statement in Vienna, at the preparatory committee of the all-European forum of member states of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), about Albania's participation in the CSCE process. The Albanian Government expressed in the statement its "readiness to recognise principles of the Helsinki Final Act and abide by the decisions taken within the CSCE framework. It requests to grant it a status of a full-fledged participant in all forthcoming conferences and meetings, beginning with the meeting of foreign ministers in New York early in October."

Gerasimov said that the Soviet Union welcomed Albania's statement and regarded it as "new evidence of its desire to again become a member of the European process."

Foreign Support for Reform

LD1909140390 Moscow TASS in English 1349 GMT 19 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Yuriy Rublevskiy and Oleg Polovko]

[Text] Moscow September 19 TASS—Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov, who spoke at a briefing in the Foreign Ministry press centre today, told journalists that French-German summit consultations had ended in Munich. A joint statement had been adopted there.

According to preliminary reports, he continued, West German Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl and French President Francois Mitterrand announced their support for economic reforms, implemented in East European countries and the Soviet Union.

Gerasimov expressed gratitude to leaders of the two countries for their "desire to make a constructive contribution to the solution of economic problems facing the Soviet Union."

Woerner Warsaw Visit Aids Dialogue With NATO

PM1909155190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Sep 90 Second Edition p 4

[Report by correspondent A. Starukhin: "Accent on NATO"]

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Sep—"The 'cold war' belongs to the past, and in exchange we offer dialogue, cooperation, and even friendship," NATO Secretary General M. Woerner said at a joint news conference in Warsaw with K. Skubiszewski, foreign minister of the Republic of Poland. The four-day visit is the first trip to Poland by a ranking representative of the North Atlantic bloc. And if you recall that Woerner visited Moscow not so long ago and has just been in Prague, you can draw the perfectly logical conclusion that a constructive dialogue in keeping with the spirit of the new thinking is getting under way between NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

Woerner met with President of the Republic of Poland W. Jaruzelski and also had talks with Polish Prime Minister T. Mazowiecki. Questions of cooperation between Poland and NATO, contacts between the countries of the North Atlantic alliance and the Warsaw Pact states, and the future of both military-political formations were discussed above all. There also was a meeting with L. Walesa in Gdansk.

Both sides emphasized that the two blocs must revise their aims and tasks anew. Woerner said that the present aim of the alliance is a Europe in which aggression or a threat of war will be simply impossible. To achieve this aim NATO will preserve a certain number of conventional and nuclear forces on the continent as a guarantee of peace.

It should be pointed out, however, that, whereas both sides spoke of NATO from prospective positions, as it were, in a certain sense they spoke of the Warsaw Pact in the past tense.

The Polish representatives expressed a desire to transform the Warsaw Pact into a purely consultative organization. But NATO, on the contrary, as was heard at the meetings, is an essential element ensuring stability in Europe. Although, as the Polish minister concluded, Europe must be a continent without "blocs."

Bogachev Analyzes Future of NATO, Warsaw Pact

LD1809210590 Moscow TASS in English 2054 GMT 18 Sep 90

[By TASS military analyst Vladimir Bogachev]

[Text] Moscow September 19 TASS—The call of the Warsaw Pact member-countries for adjusting constructive interaction between the two military alliances in Europe in the interests of creating a new security system has met with favourable reception in the West.

During the NATO session in London, a proposal was put forth to work out a joint declaration, stating that the two alliances were not enemies.

Initiatives advanced by the two sides are beginning to bear the first concrete fruit—in Vienna, consultations have begun between representatives of NATO and WTO [Warsaw Treaty Organization] member-countries on matters relating to the joint declaration.

The Soviet side hopes that the new forum in Vienna will open channels for a new constructive dialogue, strengthen mutual trust and contribute to bridging the post-war rift in Europe.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation bear joint responsibility for solving global problems in Europe and the world.

In their work, they should proceed from the fact that the stability of the situation in Europe can be secured only by political means.

Participants in the joint declaration, which is now being worked out, must confirm their intention to abstain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country and from any other actions incompatible with the aims of the principles of the U.N. Charter and the final act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

It is not ruled out that NATO and WTO will continue to exist for some time to come, perhaps even for a longer period than can now be foreseen.

The declaration under preparations should lay down in a legal form the transition from military confrontation to cooperation between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation in maintaining stability.

During the Moscow conference of the Political Consultative Committee, WTO member-countries stated that the conditions were right for overcoming the bloc security system.

In this connection, they decided to begin the revision of the functions and activity of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation with the aim of turning the alliance into a political union par excellence.

NATO ministers, on the contrary, stressed at their meeting in Turnberry "the immutability of the alliance's basic traits." They stressed that the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation would remain "the cornerstone" in maintaining a new order in Europe.

As regards bodies created by the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), they are expected to perform the functions transferred to them by NATO.

As regards bodies created by the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), they are expected to perform the functions transferred to them by NATO.

The Soviet side favours more intensive, more effective character for the work of the 35 CSCE member-countries. There are no differences over the prospects for the development of the two alliances. However, both WTO and NATO member-countries have already arrived at the conclusion that confrontational tendencies of the past are no longer consistent with the spirit of the times.

A joint declaration by NATO and WTO on these matters will facilitate taking joint practical steps towards the full normalisation of the situation in Europe.

Stronger Trust Seen Between NATO, Warsaw Pact

PM1909133590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Sep 90 First Edition p 3

["Observer's Opinion" by Colonel V. Markushin: "Result and Target"]

[Text] A new forum has started work in Vienna. NATO and Warsaw Pact representatives have started drafting a joint declaration which could formally define the nature of relations between the two alliances as partners in ensuring European security rather than as likely adversaries. Not only is the inclusion of such a fundamental question on the 23 countries' agenda the result of the path already traveled, it also serves as a target for the subsequent peace offensive.

Of course, certain analysts who claim that military tension is directly dependent upon the quantity of stockpiled weapons are right. But those who consider military tension is generated by political tension are even more right, in my opinion. That is corroborated by life itself. The era of Soviet-American confrontation is now a thing of the past and the attention paid by the public to Geneva and Vienna—the cities where the specialists continue their intensive search for ways of agreement on arms cuts, both nuclear and conventional—has somehow waned. It is not that we have ceased to desire a world without weapons. But other complex topics and other lofty ideas are already coming to the fore.

The universal attention being paid to the political solution of the German question is a graphic case in point. For several decades the border between the two German states was a line of confrontation between the two large military groupings, equipped with the most advanced hardware and at a high state of readiness to go to war. There were no "more likely" adversaries. There were specific corps, divisions, and battalions rehearsing their combat tasks, pegged to specific terms of reference, year in, year out. The propaganda machine was well oiled....

But a comment current several years ago has now slipped imperceptibly out of use: Namely, that it is increasingly difficult to distinguish manuevers and exercises from the real deployment of troops for the start of war. Although that is so, the former nervousness has disappeared, no sense of danger is being fueled, and mutual trust has strengthened.

All this is the result of a lofty policy, responsible statements, and bold political moves. One more such responsible statement is in the offing—the joint statement on behalf of the Warsaw Pact and NATO. When it is drafted, a time of substantial progress toward a new peaceful order in Europe will arrive.

Prague Visit by UK's Thatcher Assessed

PM1909154190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Sep 90 Second Edition p 1

[Report by A. Krushinskiy under the "Foreign News" rubric: "Apologizing for Munich: M. Thatcher in Czechoslovakia"]

[Text] This has been an unprecedented month in the history of Czechoslovak foreign policy. Local commentators still had not had time to consider and "digest" the content of the visits by the NATO secretary general and the French president when Prague Castle played host to M. Thatcher.

If we compare all three visits, we will find quite a lot in common in the content of the talks and the speeches. The most important thing: Each was dominated (albeit with different nuances) by the theme of building the common European home and the important role that Czechoslovakia is called upon to play by virtue of its geographical and historical characteristics. Great significance is attached here to the fact that like Mitterrand, Thatcher supported the idea that Prague could be the location of "one of the institutions whose purpose is to further concretize and develop the all-European process which began with the Helsinki conference."

As for the nuances, unlike Mitterrand, who defended the idea of a future European confederation, Thatcher advocates that some East European countries become members of the EC individually even before the question of their economic structures is resolved.

The British decision to introduce visaless exchange between the two countries had a great impact in the local mass media. The question of granting BBC frequencies for broadcasting to Czechoslovakia was also raised. Attention is drawn to the fact that, as during the Czechoslovak-French talks, it is emerging that the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic's [CSFR] ties with West European countries have at the moment become more active primarily in the cultural and humanitarian spheres, whereas ties in the economic sphere remain at a low level. Many representatives of firms come here but are in no hurry to invest money.

At a press conference yesterday, a Voice of America correspondent asked Thatcher: Does Britain intend to apologize to Czechoslovakia for signing the Munich agreement, as the Soviet Union did in August 1968. The UK Prime Minister promised that this would be done during her speech to deputies of the CSFR Federal Assembly. She has kept her promise.

M. Thatcher left the CSFR today after a brief visit to the Slovak capital, Bratislava.

Vorontsov Addresses United Nations on Peace Day

LD1809193990 Moscow TASS in English 1847 GMT 18 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Maslov]

[Text] United Nations September 18 TASS—Follows an abstract from the statement by President of the Security Council Yuliy Vorontsov on the occasion of the International Day of Peace:

The annual observance of the International Day of Peace is a propitious occasion for the international community to reaffirm cognizance of its collective responsibility for the promotion of peace and good relations among nations.

The International Day of Peace this year is being observed at a time when some of the principles of the charter stand at a critical test.

In the course of the current year the authority of the United Nations organization has been successfully invoked to promote and consolidate peaceful resolution of certain outstanding international conflicts. That is commendable.

In the course of the same year, however, flagrant breaches of the principles of the United Nations Charter continue to be committed. This poses a potential threat to the security of the international community as a whole. The Security Council is fully committed to finding peaceful and fair solutions to these conflicts.

Acceptance of the obligations under the charter is categorical and incumbent upon each and every member state. The International Day of Peace should therefore serve as a timely reminder to all member states to rededicate themselves to the principles and provisions of the charter of the United Nations, which form the basis for the maintenance of international peace and security.

United States & Canada

Joint U.S. Law, Economic Conference Continues

'Text' of Ryzhkov's Address

LD1909140190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1235 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow, 19 Sep (TASS)—We are conveying the full text of the speech by Nikolay Ryzhkov to the Soviet-American conference, "Law and Economic Cooperation," which started in Moscow today. He said:

First of all, allow me to sincerely greet all the participants in the Soviet-American conference on the problems of regulating economic relations by law.

The topicality of the subject of the Moscow meeting is quite obvious. The success of new political thinking in international affairs and the processes of integration, embracing more and more regions of the world, leads to a strengthening of the interdependence of states, to a growth in the role of international economic ties and the regulating function of law.

As a result of the summit meetings and the conclusion of important agreements in the political, military, strategic, and humanitarian spheres, favorable conditions are also being created for the development of economic relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. Nevertheless, trade and economic ties still remain a weak link in the complex of Soviet-American relations. Cardinal changes in their development have still not occurred. It is not just objective causes that are affecting this. The lack of most-favored-nation treatment in trade and the possibilities of obtaining state credits and export controls play quite a part in this.

Positive changes in this sphere are also being impeded by the absence of an effective contractual and legal base for our cooperation. Therefore, the role of legal institutions in improving and developing Soviet-American economic ties at the present time is undoubtedly growing.

At home, we are carrying out major work in implementing legal reform, strengthening the legal foundations of state and public life, switching the economy to regulated market relations, and bringing Soviet legislation into line with international legal norms, and with international obligations undertaken by us. The significance of guaranteeing the rights and freedoms of the individual has risen as never before. In this context, the task of ensuring the genuine independence of the courts, raising the effectiveness of supervision by the procuracy, and creating a strong body of lawyers is being tackled. An awareness is growing that law should, above all, play a constructive role in regulating social relations, and in promoting the implementation of progressive transformations in the sphere of politics, the economy, and culture. Having trodden a difficult path, Soviet society now realizes that the law and democracy are inseparable concepts.

We know how traditionally great the prestige of law is in the United States, and learning from American experience in this sphere is of no small value to Soviet lawyers.

Lately, the role of law in international relations as a whole has also increased signficantly. The initiative aimed at setting up a unified European legal area has received active support in the world. This essentially means the development of the juridical aspect of a common European process, in which both the Soviet Union and the United States are participants. This legal area should be formed on the basis of the unconditional primacy of international law, and the evolution of national legislation toward drawing up common legal concepts and principles, while maintaining the original traits of the legal systems of member countries.

There has been a noticeable drawing together recently in the legal regulation of states with different social and political systems, for example on questions of the legal regulation of the activity of joint stock companies, joint enterprises, technology transfer, the functioning of free economic zones, and so on.

It seems to me that a single legal space presupposes a community of law-based states, in which state mechanisms function on the basis of the supremacy of the law and the principle of legality. Legal relations between the state and government, and providing legal guarantees for international stability and security, must lie at the basis of such mechanisms.

Relations between the USSR and the United States in the modern world cannot be built outside their links with the common problems of mankind. Uniting the efforts of the two countries, their scientific, intellectual, and material potentials, in tackling global problems is an urgent necessity of our time. For a number of years the range of Soviet-American cooperation in this area, in spite of difficulties with regard to the political situation, has gradually been expanding, and at the present time it embraces many key transnational problems. This applies, for example, to questions of ecology, bilateral contacts in the fight against international terrorism, consultation on ensuring the safety of civil aviation, cooperation in combating the illegal drugs trade, and in forecasting natural disaters and eliminating their consequences. In this connection one cannot fail to express satisfaction at the fact that there will be a special section at the conference devoted to the legal aspects of global problems which are of general interest.

I believe that the Moscow conference will help us to improve Soviet legislation regulating the development of foreign economic ties. Over the last few years, quite a lot has been done in our country on decentralizing the liberalizing foreign economic activity, and on restructuring the management of this sphere, first and foremost using economic and law-based levers. The aim of these measures is to ensure the openness of the Soviet economy, and to create conditions for the active participation of Soviet enterprises, regions, and Union republics in the international division of labor.

We are striving to ensure that the renewable law-founded base in this sphere is maximally compatible with international customs and practice, which is particularly important in the conditions of a transition to market relations. Such an approach in particular forms the foundation of the draft customs legislation, and the draft laws on currency regulation and foreign investments, which have recently been submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet for examination.

Finally, I would like to say that your conference, which has gathered so many eminent representatives of jurisprudence, economic science, and practice here in Moscow, is a unique opportunity for direct contacts among people. Back in ancient times they used to say that man is the measure of things. The exchange of opinions on a wide range of questions included in the conference program cannot fail to have the ultimate aim of determining specific ways of improving people's lives and of satisfying their needs.

Allow me to express confidence that the forthcoming dialogue will serve to deepen mutual understanding between our countries, and will stimulate the development of economic ties between the Soviet Union and the United States.

I wish the participants in the conference fruitful work and successes.

Ryzhkov Interviewed at Conference

LD1909185190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 19 Sep 90

Interview with William Rogers, former U.S. secretary of state, and Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, by special correspondent Anatoliy Fedorov, at the Soviet-U.S. Conference 'Law and Economic Cooperation,' in Moscow—Rogers' comments in English with superimposed Russian translation]

[Text] The Soviet-U.S. conference "Law and Economic Cooperation" started in Moscow today. Here is a report by our special correspondent, Anatoliy Fedorov.

[Fedorov] The organizers of this meeting were the Union of Lawyers, the USSR Ministry of Justice, and the U.S. Center of International Cooperation. The Kremlin Palace of Congresses has probably never before seen such a large U.S. force of eminent politicians, businessmen, lawyers, and representatives of state and public organizations, numbering 700 people. All in all, approximately 3,000 experts are taking part in the work of the conference from both sides. The composition of the U.S. part of the organizing committee includes former U.S. Presidents Carter and Ford, secretaries of State Rogers, Shultz, and Welles, Attorney General Turner, Commerce Secretary Mosbacher, and Treasury Secretary Beatler.

The Soviet part of the organizing committee is headed by Sitaryan, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; (Trepkov), chairman of the USSR Union of Lawyers; and USSR Justice Minister Yakovlev.

In the conference interval I invited Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Mr. William Rogers, chairman of the U.S. organizing committee and former U.S. Secretary of State.

[Begin recording] [Fedorov] Nikolay Ivanovich, what specific results can one expect from such a representative forum?

[Ryzhkov] I think that the most pressing thing for us at the present time is the law-based part of the transition to the market. That is the first thing, and the second thing is the state system. These are two issues that do at least interest us very much and we will do everything to familiarize ourselves to a certain extent with the work of U.S. lawyers. If one is to speak about the transition to the market, in my view our infrastructure is very weak. I simply know what things are really like. Just look: We set up cooperatives two years ago. It appeared to be a good thing. It was the first step toward the market. But it was not organized, it was not reinforced properly with a legal base, and today we have very many negative tendencies. I think that this conference will give us the opportunity to properly weigh up and really create a very strong foundation based on legal principles.

When Mr. Rogers spoke now, I think he was right when he said: you are making the transition to the market, you are making the transition to what is essentially a new system in economic and social respects and the legal basis must be very strong.

They have 200 years of experience of life in a federal state. They have been through a shock. And we need, nonetheless, to exchange opinions yet again, take a look and think how legal principles of a federal state have been shaped in their country. You know that today not everything is fine in this respect. Centrifugal forces are developing in the country. In my opinion, the fact that republican laws take priority over Union laws will not bring benefit to normal life in the country. Therefore one must weigh up very seriously, take a look, familiarize oneself with the way this system is organized.

[Fedorov] What can be said about a transition to the market economy, when 60 articles in the criminal code are dragging all this matter back? They do not allow for development.

[Ryzhkov] The criminal codes have to be revised. A lot of new laws have to be passed. But, in passing new laws, we should keep on evaluating the old laws as well, so a really enormous amount of work lies ahead for the lawyers.

[Fedorov] Nikolay Ivanovich, the last question. We are dreamers; when we were born and appeared in the world, we also dreamed of a bright future, and so on and so forth. If you were to be holding a magic wand, or something else like that, what would you take from U.S. experience to use on us immediately, to cure our sick economy.

[Ryzhkov] First, I would take their laws which very precisely regulate the whole of economic life. And second, without hesitation, I would take small business undertakings, because all the rest needs a great deal of time. Do not think that will happen in one or two years. And naturally one has to change people's mentality. Look, he made a speech on the rostrum today and he spoke about money and profits, did he not? Yes, in the end we should teach the people as well that we can live better when we earn more. When the pie is bigger, it can be divided up. They are educated to think like this right from childhood.

[Fedorov] Mr. Rogers, allow me to ask you the same question that I asked Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, our prime minister.

[Rogers] Well, I think it is very important, as the prime minister said; this is a very important conference, because here we can achieve better understanding among representatives of the legal profession from our two countries. If the conference takes place successfully, then its results will be that U.S. businessmen will invest more money in your country. We very much like the atmosphere that prevails here at the conference. The only shortcoming is probably the weather, the guest jokes. We do not want to give any advice to the Soviet Government. We simply want to tell those who are interested how the respective bodies in the United States work, Mr. William Rogers, former U.S. secretary of state and chairman of the organizing committee on the U.S. side, said in conclusion. [end recording]

That was a report by our correspondent from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses on the opening of the U.S.-Soviet conference "Law and Economic Cooperation". The conference will last three days.

Justice Minister Meets Press

LD1909210190 Moscow TASS in English 2032 GMT 19 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow September 20 TASS—The Soviet Union intends to take advantage of the world experience of providing legal support for a market-based economy, when implementing economic reforms, Soviet Minister of Justice Veniamin Yakovlev told journalists today. He spoke at a news conference, held by organisers of the Soviet-American conference "Law and Economic Cooperation", which opened in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses on September 19.

Yakovlev spoke in favor of using U.S. experience during the Soviet Union's transition to a market-oriented system. He said that a program of practical training of young Soviet lawyers in the United States is being implemented. U.S. lawyers began to visit the Soviet Union regularly. Twenty eight such delegations visited the USSR in the current year alone.

William Rogers, former U.S. secretary of state and chairman of the U.S. part of the organising committee, said that the United States is interested in the success of the economic programme of Soviet perestroyka. He supported relations of partnership with the USSR in the sphere of economy and the removal of obstacles on the way of Soviet-American economic cooperation, specifically, the Jackson-Vanick Amendment. At the same time, he pointed out that the absence of a law on the protection of foreign investments in the Soviet Union hampers U.S. investments in the USSR.

AP Heads Query KGB Chairman on CIA Links

LD1909213590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Correspondent Sergey Rybin report on meeting between KGB Chairman Vladimir Kryuchkov and AP directors in Moscow on 19 September; questions by unidentified AP personnel in English with superimposed Russian translation; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded, with interjections by correspondent]

[Text] [Announcer Sergey Lomakin] The USSR secret service is, it seems, also ceasing to be a secret for foreigners. The Soviet Union's KGB was visited today by a group of journalists from the United States. This step only confirms the idea that our society is becoming more open.

[Correspondent Sergey Rybin] This building on Dzerzhinskiy Square rarely gets on to postcards showing the sights of Moscow, and this door of Entrance No. 1 has opened even more rarely. However it now seems that it will open more often.

The visitors were greeted with raisin rusks, forest berries, and a cup of coffee. The visitors in question are the entire board of directors—22 persons in all—of the AP news agency. Just a few years ago they could scarcely have imagined that they would be sitting here, except perhaps during a nightmare. But, as you can see, they are seated here and they are even putting questions to KGB chairman Vladimir Kryuchkov. Here are a few of the questions and answers:

[Question] Are the KGB and CIA exchanging information about events in the Persian Gulf?

[Kryuchkov] We are not exchanging information with the CIA on this problem, although I am certain that in this regard it would be possible for us to give each other some information.

[Question] Who does your country see as an enemy now?

[Kryuchkov] We do not have any single country that is specifically designated as an enemy of the Soviet Union. However, we assess negatively any hostile subversive activity against the Soviet Union and the activities of extremist elements.

[Question] Does the KGB chairman see any distinction between extremists and radicals?

[Kryuchkov] I think that one must definitely see a distinction.

[Question] What influence do the CPSU Central Committee and the Politburo now have on the KGB?

[Kryuchkov] The situation changed radically as soon as the former Article 6 of our Constitution was annulled. As a member of the government I belong, of course, to the Council of Ministers with all the consequences stemming from that. The financing of our work is supervised by the relevant subdepartment of the USSR Ministry of Finance.

[Rybin] Finally the KGB chairman could not refrain from asking himself a question.

[Kryuchkov] If you were to ask me whether, as KGB chairman, I am satisfied with the work of the state security bodies, I would say that I am not very satisfied.

[Rybin] William Keating is chairman of the Board of Directors of Associated Press.

Does your delegation here contain staffers of the CIA or the FBI?

[Keating] No, I assure you that there are none. We only have our wives who are watching us very attentively, but then they always do this.

[Rybin] Have you heard what you wanted to hear?

[Keating] This meeting is a token of the improvement of relations between us. We believe in it. We wanted to find out the nature of the KGB and how the organization works and to meet its chief, but I believe that the questions that we asked showed our interests.

[Rybin, addressing Kryuchkov] Did you like all the questions that they asked?

[Kryuchkov] I must say that I was expecting discourteous questions too, but I consider that they were normal, except for perhaps two or three of them, but one does not need to feel offended by that. I think that this is one of the most influential agencies not just in the United States but throughout the world, and I hope that they will give an objective account of our meeting.

[Rybin] At the end of the meeting the KGB chairman gave the two-volume Red Book of the Cheka to the Americans as a gift and the Americans gave him Ray Cline's book about the CIA that is also in Russian.

Reagan Addresses Moscow University on Visit

PM1909150590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Sep 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "R. Reagan at Moscow State University"]

[Text] Let the nature of our meeting be one of open dialogue. That was former President Reagan's wish when visiting students at Moscow State University 18 September. After the words of welcome addressed to him by rector A.A. Logunov, the guest began answering questions.

The discussion with the young men and women did not follow any prearranged format. It was a relaxed dialogue on the most varied topics. It was evident that the students were interested in the U.S. visitor both as a politician and as an ordinary man with a rich experience of life.

Students asked what his feelings are toward M.S. Gorbachev. He answered: They were and remain relations of friendship and mutual respect. On Soviet-U.S. relations he said: We made a conscious choice—to be friends, not enemies. Reagan was asked what principles he used to select him team when he was president. I did not choose those people who wanted to enter the administration for personal benefit but those who had a good track record in their work and were ready to join the administration to serve the people, the former president replied.

The guest gave the young people a parting message. The future belongs to you, he said. You will have to assume the burden of responsibility for the country in the century ahead. I urge you to study well and not waste your time. And may the knowledge and friendship that you are acquiring in your university last you all your life.

Northeast Asia

Joint Communique With ROK Expected on Ties

OW2009014190 Tokyo KYODO in English 0046 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow, Sept. 20 KYODO—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev said Wednesday that the Soviet Union and South Korea will issue a joint communique on the establishment of diplomatic ties at a meeting between the foreign ministers of the two countries scheduled at the end of this month in New York.

Rogachev did not elaborate on the contents of the joint communique.

In an interview with a group of Japanese journalists, Rogachev said the Soviet Union regards two sovereign nations as existing in the Korean peninsula and wants to have normal and friendly relations with both of them.

The establishment of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and South Korea will contribute to stabilization of the situation in the Far East as a whole, he said.

In Seoul, Loengrin Eremenko, head of the Soviet Consular Department, said Wednesday that he expects Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and his South Korean counterpart Choe Ho-chung will work out concrete procedures for the establishment of diplomatic ties during their upcoming meeting in New York.

South Korea press reports said that Moscow and Seoul are expected to establish full diplomatic ties in November. The two countries set up consular relations in December last year.

Rogachev said the Soviet Union is ready to talk with Japan, China, and the United States to reduce military confrontation and defuse tension in the Korean peninsula, and has a plan to call for an international conference on Korea.

China's stance on the Korean problem is very similar to the Soviet Union's, he said.

Agreement on Industrial Joint Venture With ROK

LD1609215290 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 16 Sep 90

[Text] Hyundai, the giant South Korean trade and industrial group, has secured its government's go-ahead for a major joint venture with the Soviet Union. The 20-year project concerns the development of timber resources in the Maritime territory. Under the agreement the partners, the Hyundai Wood Industries and the Soviet Primorsklesprom [Maritime Kray Forest Industry Administration] industrial amalgamations, are to invest $54 million in a large timber-processing complex near the city of Svetlaya on the coast of the Sea of Japan.

ROK Trade Group To Visit on Technological Ties

SK2009103090 Moscow International Service in Korean 0900 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Text] Following is an article run by Moscow weekly magazine [name indistinct].

Two high-level South Korean business delegations are to arrive in Moscow this week. One of them is a group of businessmen who are on a fact-finding mission regarding investment and the other is going to hold talks with Soviet organizations of various types to discuss possible cooperation in the high-technology area.

Specialists view this as part of an effort to actively build trade ties between the two countries aimed at realizing the diplomatic relations following the talks held in San Francisco between Presidents Gorbachev and No Tae-u.

Toward the end of August, South Korea's Ministry of Trade and Industry instituted a bureau in charge of planning and developing cooperative relations and (?quick controlling) and guaranteeing trade with the Soviet Union. Presently, this bureau is actively studying the drafts of five treaties, such as a treaty on cooperation in bilateral trade; a treaty on guaranteeing investment; a treaty on preventing double taxation; a treaty on the development of aviation and shipbuilding; a treaty on cooperation in fishery sectors; and a treaty on cooperation in science and technology.

According to the South Korean delegations, negotiations on some of these subjects will begin in the near future. The current problem is to discuss the draft of an agreement on trade, to increase the export of consumer goods and facilities for their production to the Soviet Union, to establish joint ventures in these areas, and to open a South Korean trade center in Moscow.

The next round of talks will be held in Seoul when Soviet delegations formally visit Seoul. One of the most important issues at these talks will be the granting of loans to the Soviet Union. According to unofficial data, Moscow is reportedly seeking $5 billion. But given Seoul's present situation, about $1 billion can be arranged.

It is not so much on the national scope of the Soviet Union as on the scope of Russia that the discussion of issues related to the development of trade and investment is carried out more successfully.

(?South Korean) specialists say that this is another indication of the recent trend, that is to say, businessmen from various countries are now transforming their ties with the Soviet government into ties with individual republics of the Soviet Union.

(?South Korean) specialists believe that the individual republics have exportable resources practically under their control. South Korean specialists are expected to direct particular attention to finding ways of involving the Korean people residing in the Soviet Union in the joint plans.

Such an eager attitude on the part of South Korea is related not just to its aspirations to improve Soviet-South Korean relations in the area of (?international politics) at the earliest possible date. At the same time, South Korea is trying to carry out its important task of diversifying trading partners. South Korea plans to expand trade volume with countries that it used to call socialist countries to $20 billion by the year 2000 and half of that volume will be with the Soviet Union.

How responsive a partner the Soviet Union will make itself to this plan depends largely on the reforms that are under way in the Soviet Union. Soviet exports to South Korea has dropped by 10 percent in the first half of 1990, wrote the weekly magazine [name indistinct].

Near East & South Asia

Officials Meet, Comment on Persian Gulf Crisis

KGB Chairman on Specialists

LD1909152690 Moscow TASS in English 1517 GMT 19 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Konstantin Voytsekhovich]

[Text] Moscow September 19 TASS—The situation of Soviet specialists in Iraq has worsened lately, chairman of the State Security Committee (KGB) Vladimir Kryuchkov said during a meeting with the leaders of the ASSOCIATED PRESS news agency here today.

"Conditions under which Soviet specialists are operating in Iraq have worsened lately," he said. "We hold Iraqi authorities responsible for their lives and the state of health", he said.

Asked if any restrictions were imposed on Soviet specialists by the Iraqi military, Kryuchkov said that "some such cases" had been reported.

Belonogov Meets Iran's Velayati

LD1909210490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1730 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Text] The Soviet Union is concerned at the increase of military forces in the Persian Gulf region which began after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. Belonogov, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, who is in Tehran, stated this. He met 'Ali Akbar Velayati, Iranian minister of foreign affairs. The USSR, Belonogov noted, is doing everything to prevent the conflict in the region escalating, which would be fraught with serious consequences. He noted the necessity of broadening contacts with Iran, which plays an important role in the region in the light of current events. As Velayati stated, Iran cannot accept the deployment of foreign forces in the region with the aim of creating a security system there.

Foreign Ministry on Syrian Troops

PM1909131390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by Yu. Gatselyuk: "From Sources at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs"]

[Text] In the 17 September evening transmission of the "Vremya" program, among the news devoted to the development of events in the Persian Gulf area, it was reported that Western countries intend to turn to the Soviet Union with a request to help with the transfer of Syrian troops to the conflict zone. Our correspondent asked our source at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs to comment on this report, contacting him by telephone.

We were told at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs that no such requests have been received. As for the Soviet Union's stance concerning our country's participation in the international measures taken against Iraq in connection with its troops' invasion of Kuwait on 2 August, our country declared at the outset that it will act within the framework of the resolutions adopted for this purpose by the UN Security Council.

It is known that the Security Council has so far not discussed the question of measures concerning the trasfer of foreign troops to the crisis area.

EC Foreign Ministers Condemn Iraqi Aggression

PM1909153790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Article by IZVESTIYA correspondent B. Moskvichev under the rubric: "Persian Gulf": "EC In Favor of Tightening the Embargo"]

[Text] Brussels—During the 17 September EC Council sitting in Brussels at foreign minister level, its participants condemned most resolutely the policy of Iraqi aggression and stated the inadmissibility of the Iraqi Government's continuing to hold hostages and also of the violation of diplomatic immunity in diplomatic mission premises in Kuwait. The 12 ministers unanimously approved UN Security Council Resolution No. 667 condemning Iraq for its gross violation of international law.

The EC members clearly stated that they regard the act against some countries' embassies as a challenge to the entire community. They approved the retaliatory measures adopted by the states concerned, and in turn adopted a joint decision to expel members of Iraq's military missions from all 12 EC countries. What is more, it was also said that Iraqi embassies' rights will be limited in the future.

The foreign ministers advocated tightening up the UN embargo and believe that this step should make Saddam Husayn's government think about the highly serious consequences that may ensue as a result of Iraq's suicidal policy in opposition to the world community. With this in view, representatives of the "12" stated the need to start monitoring the effectiveness of the embargo.

To develop the decision adopted by the extraordinary council in Rome on 7 September, the ministers confirmed their decision to assist countries suffering as a result of the embargo, primarily Egypt, Jordan, and Turkey. The EC Council's participants approved the contribution that some EC countries have already made in terms of financial and humane assistance.

Palestinian Embassy Issues Statement on Gulf

LD1909211390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1550 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow, 19 September (TASS)—The embassy of the state of Palestine in the USSR has issued a statement regarding the recent appearance of numerous commentaries and reports in the Soviet press criticizing the PLO's stance on events in the Persian Gulf region.

The document states that the PLO actively favors a political resolution of the crisis in the Gulf region and confirms the principle that the seizure of other peoples' lands by force is impermissible. It respects international legality and its indisputable role in the resolution of all international conflicts.

The statement stresses that the PLO will continue its efforts to secure a peaceful settlement of the conflict and will not depart from that path. Simultaneously with this, there must be a build-up of joint efforts, aimed at the calling of a peace conference on the Near East, the object of which will be the constructive resolution of the problems of the region as a whole, the document notes.

Saudi Foreign Minister Ends Moscow Visit 18 Sep

PM2009110190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] Saudi Arabian Foreign Minister Sa'ud al-Faysal Al Saud left Moscow 18 September. At the airport he was seen off by USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze and other officials.

Commentaries Assess, Review Gulf Crisis

Affiliation With Iraq Criticized

PM1909134990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by V. Skosyrev: "Not Getting Bogged Down in the Arabian Sands"]

[Text] Let us think about whether there is a sensible alternative to our foreign policy in the Persian Gulf. To judge by the recent sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet, there is not. Indeed, the deputies heard E.A. Shevardnadze's report, asked the minister questions, and then approved the resolution.

Is that enough? I am sure it is not. It is sad to think that in the six weeks since the outbreak of the dangerous conflict not far from our borders the all-Union parliament has not found time for a detailed discussion of all its aspects. Of course, one can hope that the situation will be rectified when it is the turn of the fifth point on the session's agenda. But will it be reached soon? So far foreign policy in practice remains the prerogative of the top people in the state, the Foreign Ministry, and other powerful departments. Yet how many words have already been spoken and written about how necessary parliamentary control is over the elaboration of state policy.

It has already become a cliche to refer to how parliamentary democracy in the West functions in such cases. Nonetheless we must touch on this theme again. The point is that in the United States and the West European states in the very first days following the invasion of Kuwait legislators and the press actively joined in debates about what the reply to the aggressor should be. Here the most diverse scenarios are being examined. Is it possible to use peaceful means to compel Saddam Husayn to leave Kuwait or are military operations inevitable? Should one keep within the framework of the sanctions envisaged by the UN resolutions? Or perhaps it is a case of deciding at what stage one should cross the borderline to curb the invader? And if military operations nonetheless are initiated should one restrict oneself to liberating Kuwait or should one seek the overthrow of the Iraqi regime? What will it cost in terms of human lives and financial losses?

In brief, the public is acquiring a real idea of what alternatives are opening up before the governments. But in our country official explanations and press publications (let us be self-critical) are a long way from achieving the same level of frankness and depth of analysis. It is not surprising that IZVESTIYA readers' mail commenting on the events in the Persian Gulf consists predominantly of letters from people who assess extremely skeptically the USSR's past "pre-perestroyka" policy with regard to Iraq and our state's present policy. Here it is characteristic that this policy is criticized both "from the right" and "from the left"—by those who believe we have made the wrong choice by repudiating a "friendly Arab state" and by the hotheads who call for us to immediately join the Americans who have stationed their troops in the sand of the Arabian peninsula.

First about the opponents of rapprochement with the United States, whose culmination was the two presidents' Helsinki meeting. With the present polarization of opinions in society we should not be startled that such voices are also being heard. I think that it is even a good thing when the people who think in terms of the "cold war" speak frankly.

But let us listen to their arguments. The Americans are deliberately drawing the USSR into a "campaign against our ally—Iraq. That way we lose all friendly countries and remain alone with U.S. bases around us. That will lead to no good. People are rightly asking: Are we not weakening ourselves by playing at give-away with the United States," Muscovite A. Gubenko warns.

In my opinion there is nothing in particular to discuss with regard to the subject of Iraq as an ally. Can we count as an ally a regime which has swallowed up a defenseless neighbor without batting an eyelid? Or are the principles of the supremacy of right in international relations and of respect for other countries' sovereignty no more than a loud declaration?

The thesis about "playing at give-away" looks more serious. Especially as at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on International Affairs at the end of August a spokesman for the Defense Ministry also voiced the idea that the Soviet Union's security is threatened by U.S. plans to step up its military presence in the Persian Gulf.

What can be said on this score? It would be possible to cite President Bush's assurances at the news conference in Helsinki, where he stated that the United States has not the slightest intention of leaving its troops in this region after the UN resolutions have been fulfilled. But assurances alone are obviously not enough. And if the matter had occurred some four years ago when we were still the "empire of evil" for the United States while the United States was for us "the bulwark of world imperialism," then the fears of the esteemed A. Gubenko would have been entirely justified. But times are different now and the superpowers' confrontation has become the domain of the past and it is therefore time to stop viewing the United States as a potential opponent in a world war. And if we are talking of a threat to our national security, is it not clear that today this threat comes not from an external enemy but from the interethnic conflicts and other misfortunes which have descended on our Fatherland?

A number of readers believe that the USSR, together with the other permanent members of the Security Council, is demonstrating "dual standards" in its approach to the invasion of Kuwait. "I denounce Iraq's aggression against Kuwait but I also denounce Israel's prolonged aggression against the people of Palestine," Muscovite I. Starostin writes.

Well, the annexation of Kuwait is, alas, not the first link in the chain of such tragic upheavals in the region. In 1967 Israel occupied several Arab territories. In that world divided into two hostile camps collective sanctions against the invader were impossible. Indeed, the United States would simply not have allowed them. It is possible to recall another incident in this region when the international community proved powerless to do anything of any weight to help the victim of an attack. I have in mind the Turkish occupation of the northern part of Cyprus in 1974. All this did indeed happen.... But surely a past injustice cannot serve as justification for us to tolerate an injustice when it is being perpetrated before our very eyes.

There's no denying that without resolving the Palestinian problem it is impossible to achieve a lasting peace settlement in the Near East. Yet so far there is no headway toward this settlement. Nonetheless the meeting in Helsinki, having raised the level of mutual understanding between Washington and Moscow, brought an important new element here too. Whereas before the United States considered that the Soviet Union had no part to play in the Near East, now it is seeking to enlist its support. I shall not venture to predict how extensive cooperation between the two powers will be in the region in the long term. But at least hope is beginning to gleam that they will act together in untangling the knot of Arab-Israeli contradictions.

The restoration of legality in the international arena is undoubtedly a noble aim. But no one will deny that the powers drawn into the conflict in the Persian Gulf are at the same time concerned for their own interests. For the United States these are primarily ensuring uninterrupted deliveries of Near East oil and the inviolability of the borders of its traditional ally—Saudi Arabia. "For us," R. Dole, leader of the Republican minority in the Senate, admitted, "everything is at stake, or 90 percent of everything when it is a case of Saudi Arabia."

And what are the Soviet Union's interests? Our official statements mention this only obliquely. Obviously, we are vitally interested in preserving friendly ties and economic cooperation with the Arab world which, let us be frank, is split with regard to Baghdad. That is reflected in the situation in the Arab League, whose last session was attended by only 12 of its 21 members. On the West Bank of the Jordan and in Sudan there has been a registration of volunteers for the war on S. Husayn's side. Unfortunately, many readers who demand that an exemplary punishment be meted out to the violator of peace utterly overlook the complexity of the situation. Comparing the Iraqi president with Stalin, Laura Riyestinya from Riga is indignant that we are conducting talks with his envoys. "Bush is angry," she writes, "and we can see on TV Ryzhkov sitting smiling at the same table as the Iraqi vice premier."

I do not intend to admire our premier's smile. But what, one asks, should we do in addition to taking part in the collective UN sanctions and in attempts to influence Iraq by political means, that is through talks? Perhaps we should send our combat units to the shores of the Persian Gulf with a view to getting involved in fighting, as A. Yegorov from Odessa demands? G. Gayduk from Dzhezkazgan Oblast is just as resolutely minded. And after all you cannot call this idea the fruit of idle fancy. People in Washington have long been discussing it, stressing that the arrival of Soviet ground force units on specific terms would entirely suit the United States.

The reader is now free, without fear of the consequences, to express any proposal to the newspaper. Thank God we have gotten that far. But nonetheless it is worth pondering where we will get if the proposal is suddenly implemented. Surely, with the tragedy in Afghanistan not yet forgotten, we are not prepared to send our young men to fight beyond our borders again?

Historical parallels are always hypothetical. But it will be appropriate to cite the changes introduced to foreign policy by Prince A. Gorchakov, the tsar's foreign minister, after the lost Crimean war. "Russia is concentrating itself," was how he formulated the change of guidelines, meaning that the country was recovering from its losses and refraining from active interference in other people's affairs.

I do not want to say that our withdrawal from Afghanistan is equivalent to the defeat in the Crimean war. But the lamentable outcome of military intervention is obvious. Is it not better for us at the end of the 20th century, considering the experience of our predecessors, to "concentrate ourselves" on introducing order in our own home, letting others play the role of international policeman.

This is not a call for isolationism but for a consideration of objective realities. Incidentally, the majority of NATO countries are by no means in a hurry to send their combat units to help the United States, also gambling on a trade embargo and other efforts within the framework of UN resolutions. Pointing to the example of Israel, people in West Europe are saying: Is it possible to win a war and lose peace. After all, the victory over the Arabs in 1967 did not bring that state security or internal stability.

Returning to the question put at the start of the article I should like to voice the opinion that the course we have chosen is in need not of fundamental revision but of constant correction under the conditions of glasnost. In that respect the initiative of the Russian parliamentarians, who suggested in particular immediately recalling Soviet military specialists from Iraq, deserves close attention. The time is ripe for this step. The continuation of military cooperation with a regime which has issued a challenge to all mankind looks like a strange anomaly if we really adhere to the norms of morality in international politics.

Jordan's Stand Examined

PM1909145990 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Sep 90 First Edition p 5

[Article by IAN correspondent Yu. Danilychev: "Aggressor or New Saladin? A Nonstandard View of the Prime Cause of the Persian Gulf Crisis"]

[Text] Amman—"Yes, Jordan supports Iraq in its struggle against the combined forces of the West's imperialist states, Zionist Israel, and reactionary Arab regimes and in defense of the Arabs' national interests," my interlocutor—Dr. Munir Himshawi, a well-known Jordanian public figure—seemed to emphasize what he had said with a decisive gesture. "The banner of struggle which Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir raised and which has been on the point of drooping in past decades is being raised once again in Arab countries. Millions of people from the Persian Gulf to the Atlantic are once again uniting under the slogan 'Arab oil must belong to all Arabs.'"

To tell the truth, recently we have already begun to become unaccustomed to hearing such assessments of political events with a clear separation of the "progressive, imperialist, and pro-imperialist forces" operating in the world arena. At least, the majority of commentaries and articles in the Soviet press devoted to the Gulf crisis make quite a different analysis of the situation and place the emphasis on the illegal actions of Saddam Husayn, who committed aggression against Kuwait and annexed this sovereign state. And the majority of Arab countries too are not on Iraq's side today.

However, here in Jordan, the assessment of the crisis situation in the Persian Gulf made by Dr. Munir Himshawi is certainly not an exception. The country's leadership takes a pro-Iraqi stand—King Husayn has called the president of Iraq a "national hero of the Arabs." The press is unanimous in its support of Iraq. "The Arab street (an expression corresponding to our 'ordinary people') is on Iraq's side"—I have repeatedly heard this phrase from my Jordanian interlocutors.

Such unanimous support for Iraq in Jordan gives rise to many questions and needs explaining. How, for example, are we to understand the fact that, while supporting Iraq, at the same time Jordan officially condemned its annexation of Kuwait? Whenever I broached the question of the illegality of Iraq's actions in seizing Kuwait in the course of conversations, Jordanians, while agreeing with this in principle, invariably added: "But this is not the prime cause of the crisis situation in the Gulf."

A journalist for the Amman newspaper AL-SHA'B, with whom I have spent quite a long time discussing this subject, heatedly tried to demonstrate:

"It is, after all, not a question of Saddam Husayn or of his seizure of Kuwait, which, incidentally, until World War I was part of the Governorate of al-Basrah and was wrested from Iraq as a result of Britain's intrigues. The crux of the problem lies elsewhere—how Arab oil is used and to whom it brings revenue. Given the natural riches inherited by the Arabs, they ought long ago to have put an end to hunger, poverty, and backwardness. However, this is not happening. Having placed the reactionary regimes of the Arabian peninsula states at its service, the West is using Arab oil for its own enrichment. But the overwhelming majority of the 190 million Arabs have to rest content with the handouts which the oil shaykhs who luxuriate in splendor might or might not dole out. Therefore, sooner or later, if not Saddam Husayn then another Arab leader would have had to advance this slogan which has been in the air—'Arab oil for all Arabs'—and launch a struggle against the venal amirs and their patrons."

I have cited this lengthy extract from the conversation with my Jordanian colleague because it makes it possible to understand or at least try to understand the logic of those who come out in support of Iraq's position.

How just are the claims that the struggle for the fair utilization of Arab oil riches is the underlying cause of the crisis in the Persian Gulf? If you recall that the conflict between Iraq and Kuwait really began because of disagreements over the question of maintaining prices on the oil market, these claims cannot be called groundless. Kuwait and other Persian Gulf oil-producing states had raised the level of oil production (on direct orders from the United States, so Iraq claims)—which led to a fall in oil prices on the world market. Iraq, whose economy had been weakened by the many years of war with Iran, suffered palpable losses as a result. It was this that triggered the development of the crisis, during which Iraq advanced the slogan about using Arab oil in the interests of all Arab countries.

It is, of course, possible to argue over how sincere Saddam Husayn is in his calls for the fair redistribution of oil revenues. His critics, for example, maintain that this is just a propaganda ploy used by the aggressor to win over the people's masses and divert their attention from the takeover of the neighboring sovereign state. But his supporters declare that at long last an Arab leader has emerged—a continuer of the cause of Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir, a "new Saladin" who has begun a struggle to liberate the Arab world from "imperialist and Zionist filth." One thing is beyond doubt in all this—Iraq's appeal really has met with a response among the people's masses in Arab countries who strive for a better life.

The pro-Iraqi sentiments of the "Arab street" will be still more understandable if you analyze data concerning the economic relationship between the Gulf's oil-producing states and other Arab countries. According to the data cited by Jordanian newspaper AL-DUSTUR, the assets of Arab Gulf oil-producing states in Western banks total $700 billion, while capital investments in Western economies total $650 billion. At the same time there are more than 10 million unemployed in Arab countries, and 155 million live near the poverty line. The foreign debts of Arab states total $208 billion.

Why do the vast oil revenues go to the West, rather than being used to resolve the Arab countries' economic and social problems? Arab specialists in this matter believe that the point is that most of the Arabs' oil wealth does not, in fact, belong to the Arab peoples. It is controlled by shaykhs and amirs, who are allowed by their Western patrons to lead a "good life" on condition that they behave obediently on matters concerning the use of the oil and the revenue from it. Against the background of the many billions of dollars which end up in the oil shaykhs' pockets, the assistance which they give to neighboring Arab states appears truly scanty. Some $40 million is all they allocated over almost three years to support the Palestinian intifidah. On the other hand, they handed over more than $19 billion to aid the Afghan "mujahidin." The reason for such a glaring difference is obvious: This was to please the United States and its allies in Europe and the Near East, whose stand with regard to the intifidah and members of the Afghan opposition is well known. So it is no wonder that the PLO sided with Iraq, while it is now possible constantly to see on television screens portraits of Saddam Husayn carried by the ranks of Palestinian demonstrators on the West Bank of the Jordan.

Having supported Iraq, Jordan could not fail also to take a corresponding stand on the buildup of the military presence of Western countries headed by the United States in the Persian Gulf and Saudi Arabia. An unequivocal assessment is made of these Western actions: They do not show concern for the defense of Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf amirates but the fulfillment of plans drawn up long ago to establish full control over the oilfields of the Arabian peninsula—which would guarantee the "exclusion of all surprises" in this region in the future and, of course, punishment for Iraq. "This is precisely why the United States, which has long been ready for a leap into the Gulf, responded instantly to the struggle launched by Iraq for Arab oil. It succeeded brilliantly in using that pretext. It attracted world public opinion to its side and derived the maximum benefit from the Cairo conference marked by a deep split among the Arabs and from the decisions of the UN Security Council, which adopted a whole series of resolutions against Iraq, including the unprecedented Resolution 665," the Amman newspaper AL-RA'Y wrote in this connection.

In an extremely inflamed atmosphere of crisis, particular danger attaches to threats to use mass destruction weapons: chemical weapons by Iraq and nuclear weapons by the United States. The "advice" to the Americans from Israeli General Abigur Ben-Gal, published in the newspaper MA'ARIV, sounded overtly provocative. The general recommended the United States to use tactical nuclear weapons on a limited scale in a military operation against Iraq—which, in his opinion, is the only means of avoiding big losses among U.S. servicemen.

What is the way out of this extremely complex situation? Ever since the crisis in the Persian Gulf arose, King Husayn of Jordan has adhered to the consistent position that its resolution is conditional on the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the region and the finding of an "Arab way" to settle inter-Arab contradictions peacefully. Jordan's position has recently been meeting with greater understanding not only in Arab countries but also in the world as a whole.

"We expect the USSR to take account of the sentiments now prevailing among Arabs," a Jordanian businessman told me. He has been directly affected by events in the Gulf, since he owned quite a large trading company in Kuwait. "We oppose the Western military presence in the holy land of the prophet Muhammad. We favor the peaceful, comprehensive resolution of all problems, including the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait and the Israeli seizure of Palestinian lands. It is unfair to demand the fulfillment of the UN resolutions adopted a few weeks ago and to close our eyes to those that have been waiting to be implemented for 23 years now. We favor justice, and we hope that the Soviet Union will be on our side."

India Makes Donation to Chernobyl Aid Fund

PM1909150790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "Ambassador Received"]

[Text] V.Kh. Doguzhiyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received A.S. Gonsalves, Indian ambassador to the USSR, 17 September. The ambassador informed him of the Indian Government's decision to respond to the USSR Supreme Soviet's appeal and transfer 10 million rupees into the aid fund for the victims of the Chernobyl disaster. The Indian Government expressed readiness to consider the Soviet side's wish for this sum to be donated in the form of supplies of goods, including medical equipment and medicines.

Sub-Saharan Africa

South Africa's Foreign Ministry on Ties

LD1809080790 Moscow TASS in English 0753 GMT 18 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Prosvetov]

[Text] Windhoek September 18 TASS—Neil van Heerden, general director of the South African Foreign Ministry, expressed satisfaction with the opportunity for a dialogue with the Soviet Union. The establishment of a dialogue was promoted by favourable developments in the world and important changes in the two countries, Van Heerden told TASS.

He expressed satisfaction with the fact that representatives of South Africa and the USSR can exchange opinions on the situation in their country and on various international problems. This opportunity is offered by the joint commission to monitor settlement in South-West Africa, the ninth meeting of which was held in Windhoek last week. South Africa is a member of the commission in addition to Angola, Cuba and Namibia, while the Soviet Union and the United States are the observers.

Van Heerden said that South Africa is open to contacts and is prepared to develop trade. It has done a great deal in this respect in relations with countries of central Europe. Van Heerden expressed the confidence that there are opportunities for negotiations with the USSR. South Africa wishes to avail itself of every opportunity for economic growth.

Neil van Heerden proclaimed the readiness of South Africa to promote settlement in Angola, using contacts with UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] and with the Angolan Government.

South African Leader's First Year Reviewed

MB1909162490 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Commentary by Mikhail Tsirilov—read by announcer]

[Text] The 20th of September marks exactly one year from the day when President De Klerk took oath. This year that elapsed was to South Africans the time of hope and alarm. There were hopes for an early abolition of apartheid and stabilization of the state of affairs in the country. The alarm came from the impossibility of a painless radical change in the country. Mikhail Tsirilov on our staff writes:

The first year of F.W. de Klerk's rule has given rise to rather more questions than answers to South Africa's innumerable problems. What might be called a jubilee will pass in an atmosphere that cannot be described as euphoric. It is no overstatement to say today's situation in South Africa is all more strained than it was a year ago.

The war in black townships across the country has driven South Africa to the brink of a real civil war. African leaders, either of the ANC [African National Congress], or of Inkatha, cannot agree upon levelling out the contradictions between them which no doubt are serious and sharp.

The white ultras threaten to turn the country into a true hell if the president and his team keep the dismantling of apartheid going. The talks on the Constitution are about to disrupt. All the parties deep in conflict together rush to put the blame for the deteriorating situation on President De Klerk. Whatever the measures that the president may suggest at present, they will no doubt encounter skepticism and criticism. Another assumption is that the retraction of proper peace talks, or putting the [word indistinct] in force will drive the country into chaos.

I am not about to hastily declare F.W. de Klerk's power, that began on 2 February after he legalized the ANC and other patriotic organizations, and authorized Nelson Mandela's release, is now over. But the capital that government gained after the resolute step has now played out. Nevertheless the president has no way to retreat. The most dangerous step De Klerk may now make, is to loosen control of the situation. If the case be, the country will be heading for a bloodletting chaos. But the recent statements and actions of the government suggest the president intends to keep control of the developments.

Attack on Fisherman in Cape Verde Reported

LD1809185190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1304 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Report by TASS correspondent David Gepter]

[Text] Riga, 18 Sep (TASS)—A group of Soviet fishermen were attacked in the evening by three unknown armed people in a street in the port of Mindelo in the state of Cape Verde (Cape Verde Islands). A radio telegram to this effect has reached the All-Union Fishing Industry Association of the Western Basin in Riga from the capital of that island state. By arrangement with the Cape Verde Government, Soviet trawlers fishing in the Atlantic call in at Mindelo for repairs.

As a result of the attack, Sergey Dolgikh, a gas-electric welder of a relief repair crew, was killed, and Rimantas Kuleikis, a second mate, was wounded. The Soviet Embassy and the local authorities are investigating the incident.

Kaputskiy Departs Madagascar Party Congress

PM2009090390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 Sep 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 18 September F.N. Kaputskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee, returned to Moscow from Antananarivo where he had been taking part in the work of the 12th Congress Party for the Independence of Madagascar Congress as a representative of the CPSU.

Somalia's 'Deteriorating Economy' Examined

EA1909132590 Moscow International Service
in Amharic 1530 GMT 17 Sep 90

[From the "Africa as We See It" program]

[Text] Somalia's deteriorating economy has effected a situation no less alarming than the situation caused by differences among opposition groups. Here is a commentary by our political commentator, Aleksandr Mikhaylov, who explains how a REUTER reporter failed to obtain the proper answer to the critical question of how Somalis safeguard the shillings they earn, either individually or collectively, since it is dangerous to carry money. Somalia has been in a state of civil war for many years, and weapons are traded like common commodities. Individuals have weapons not only to defend their political views but to arm themselves to break into homes and rob the people, which has become an everyday occurrence. Robbery is rife in the capital.

Can money be deposited in a bank? It is believed to be best to deposit it in foreign banks because the domestic banks usually do not allow customers to withdraw their money, even though they cannot say they have no funds. The fact is that the banks are incurring losses, but since 1975 there has been only one government commercial bank in Somalia and it cannot be considered bankrupt. Some Western experts and (?observers) say that in spite of its monopoly, this bank has been unable to operate properly due to the absolute corruption in the Barre regime, whose leaders violate the bank's rules and regulations, and the bank's own mismanagement and embezzlement.

A similar new bank was opened in July 1990, but so far it has failed to achieve its planned objectives. This is not because of lack of confidence in the bank, but REUTER says it is due to the depreciating value of the Somali shilling. For example, the value of the shilling last year was 500 to the U.S. dollar. Early this year the value of the Somali shilling fell to 2,300 to the U.S. dollar, and on the black market it was 3,300 to the dollar.

A very serious situation has now arisen because Somali traders no longer know what the value of their goods will be from one day to the next. The recently introduced minimum salary of about 10,000 shillings for civil servants enabled families to eat three times a day, but its purchasing power has now fallen to the equivalent of two bottles of beer.

Experts believe that Somalia now faces a serious economic situation. Somalia's national exchange rate is threatening to deteriorate further, which could force people to barter their goods, a system which became defunct a long time ago. Not a single industry in the country is producing to full capacity due to problems brought about by the civil war and government policies. In fact some of the industries have closed completely. It appears that the country is deep in foreign debt. The scope of the complete collapse of Somalia's economy is alarming not only the government but all the citizens.

It is known that Siad Barre has effected two cabinet reshuffles this year. Rumor has it that the earlier cabinet was dismissed for incompetence and inefficiency, but even if the opposition would form a government, it would face the same problems. What ought to be done now is to pool resources to rectify the economy rather than resorting to war to settle political issues. If war continues, Somalia's economy will completely collapse and no one will be able to reconstruct it quickly.

Tanzanian Revolutionary Party Group Ends Visit

PM2009090790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 Sep 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] In accordance with the plan for interparty ties between the CPSU and the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania (CCM), a CCM delegation headed by E. Chidzha, member of the party's National Executive Committee Politburo, visited our country 5-17 September.

The Tanzanian guests had conversations at CPSU Central Committee departments, the CPSU Central Control Commission, and the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, and visited the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic.

East Europe

Hungarian Leader Sends Thanks to Gorbachev

PM1909142190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
19 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Message of thanks from Hungarian President Arpad Goencz to USSR President M.S. Gorbachev]

[Text] To USSR President Mr. M.S. Gorbachev

I cordially thank you for the honor and attention you accorded me in sending your congratulations. I am glad that, as Hungary's president, I have a chance to take part in the current building and strengthening of relations in a new spirit with the peoples of the Soviet Union, which has embarked on the path of perestroyka.

Our people have been firmly linked for centuries with neighboring peoples. We regard these traditions as a firm foundation on which a splendid structure—an edifice of goodneighborliness, peace, and security—may be erected in the changed historical conditions.

I believe and hope that our joint efforts will be crowned with success.

With friendly greetings,

[Signed] Hungarian President Arpad Goencz

Lukyanov Meets Hungarian Envoy on Relations

PM1909152590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Friendly Meetings"]

[Text] On the same day [14 September] A.I. Lukyanov met with S. Gyorke, Hungarian ambassador to the Soviet Union, at the latter's request.

There was a friendly talk during which there was an examination of several questions of Soviet-Hungarian relations, including relations through parliamentary channels, and a number of topical international problems.

Official Evaluates 1956 Hungarian Revolution

AU1909165790 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 15 Sep 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Henrik Borovik, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet's Foreign Affairs Committee, by Moscow correspondent Laszlo N. Sandor in Moscow; date not given: "The Inquires Will Last Two or Three Months—Soviet Opinion About 1956"]

[Text] Henrik Borovik received our Moscow correspondent and answered his questions. Borovik is an eminent foreign policy journalist, television personality, and successful reporter, and he is also the author of many travelogues.

[Sandor] The Hungarian press objects to the delay in the Soviet reevaluation of the Hungarian revolution of 1956. Why is this reevaluation late?

[Borovik] The members of the Foreign Committee received the text of the Hungarian appeal at the end of August, after their summer holiday. We think that we are simply not prepared today to provide an immediate answer on such a major issue. That is why we sent a group of experts to listen to witnesses and examine the numerous documents available, so that we could then take a responsible position. We will submit our proposal to the Supreme Soviet.

[Sandor] An objective reevaluation of the events in the CSSR in 1968 has already taken place in the Soviet Union too. The Soviet parliament condemned the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact and its secret protocols. It has been admitted by the Soviet leadership that the Soviet Union played a negative role in the Afghanistan war.

[Borovik] Speaking about the events in Afghanistan, our committee listened to masses of witnesses, people who are responsible for the intervention, like Marshal Akhromeyev, the former chief of general staff and former Politburo member; former Soviet ambassador Tabayev, KGB officers and soldiers.... I myself took part in investigating the tragic events in Tbilisi. Before drawing an opinion of their judgment and responsibility, we listened to Mikhail Gorbachev, Yegor Ligachev, Eduard Shevardnadze, the Georgian party and state leaders at the time, and General Rodionov whom the deputies blamed for the bloodshed. We paid several visits to the sites of events and we formulated our opinions only after these visits. We cannot do things differently on this issue either.

[Sandor] How much time do you need to formulate your position?

[Borovik] About two to three months. We have not yet appointed the members of the ad-hoc committee or of the group of experts.

[Sandor] Would you express your own personal opinion?

[Borovik] Yes. In principle, one can naturally declare that the domestic policy conflicts of a given country cannot be solved by another country's military force. Consequently, one must not deploy troops in a foreign country. This is the way we see things today. This is what I said on television recently in connection with Iraq's military aggression. As for the concrete evaluation of the events in Hungary 34 years ago, I still refrain from doing this because I am not an expert in Hungarian affairs, although I am bound to this country emotionally because I wrote my first series of reports about Hungary. I visited Hungary two years ago. However, I repeat, I am not an expert. I refrain from expressing my genuine opinion also because evaluating the intervention in Hungary exclusively on the basis of today's way of thinking would be irresponsible and unhistoric. In any case, I will gladly participate in the group dealing with this subject.

[Sandor] Can we expect some information in the course of this process?

[Borovik] Naturally.

GDR Said To Send Foodstuffs, Tobacco Products

PM1909131790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Article by correspondent V. Lapskiy: "GDR Supplies for Soviet Union"]

[Text] Berlin—A report has appeared in the press that food worth roughly 1 billion marks will very soon be dispatched from the GDR to the USSR. The report says that on the conclusion of the deal the government will cover the difference between the high cost price of agricultural products in the GDR and world prices for them, and appreciable support will thus be given to local peasant cooperatives, which in the new conditions are literally fighting for their survival.

I asked V.N. Koptsov, USSR deputy trade representative in the GDR, to comment on this deal. This year and next our country will receive the following supplies of agricultural produce and tobacco products from East Germany: 145,000 tonnes of meat of all kinds, 60,000 tonnes of butter, the same quantity of flour, 3,000 tonnes of powdered milk, half a million tonnes of fish, 100 million eggs, and 3 billion cigarettes.

How is the rate for the convertible ruble against the FRG mark being set? The sides will agree a conversion rate. Incidentally, talks with the GDR on this have been under way for several months now, but the rate simply has not yet been set.

According to local press reports, our debt to the GDR has reached almost 3 billion convertible rubles [R] and continues to grow weekly. The present deal will increase it by R230 million. We should not delude ourselves: The convertible-ruble debt will have to be paid off in hard currency or appropriate goods.

Are we not being landed with second-grade or old stock, as it were, which enjoys no demand in the GDR? That is not so, Koptsov said. The goods being bought by us in the GDR yield virtually nothing to Western goods in terms of quality. However, they do not as yet stand up to competition with the Western products with which the East German food stores have been inundated, mainly because of poor packaging and advertising.

Will difficulties not arise with the delivery of the products to our country? Of course, difficulties may arise—after all, we are mainly talking about food, the bulk of which has to be shipped in refrigerated units. And there are not enough of them, nor freightcars and trucks. A convenient form of shipment is by ferry between Mukran and Klaipeda. But, in the first place, only two of the five ferries are available and, in the second place, the GDR has now declined a large quantity of our traditional raw materials, such as timber, coal, and metal products, which could have arrived there in freightcars via the ferry crossing. Empty cars will have to be sent, which is, of course, very unprofitable, and, what is more, there are not enough of them in the Soviet Union either. There are, as you can see, quite a few difficulties, but I think everything possible will be done to deliver the German food, which our country sorely needs, as quickly as possible.

Latin America & Caribbean

NEW TIMES Views Cuban Relations, Problems

PM1909115890 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No. 37, 11-17 Sep 90 pp 12-13

[Article by Vitaliy Sobolev:"Are Changes in Cuba Possible?"]

[Text] Havana—"Democratization in Cuba will be gradual," Fidel Castro told Leonel Brizola, a Brazilian politician. Leonel Brizola repeated these words to newsmen and, for illustration, referred to a similar statement by the Brazilian general-president Ernesto Geisel, who in the middle of the 1970's initiated a process which 10 years later led to the replacement of the military dictatorship by a civil government.

Comparison, even though always "weak", is a meaningful literary device. But when the correspondent of Prague Radio in Havana also resorted to a comparison, informing his department that the events in Cuba would soon take a sharp change, as in Romania, his prediction was considered by the Cuban authorities to be improper, and the journalist was ordered to leave the country. To accredit a foreign correspondent or to deprive him of accreditation is, naturally, the right of corresponding bodies of each country. But we foreign journalists in Havana, in our own circles, commented on this incident, and many of us thought that the acuteness of the comparison used by the Czechoslovak colleague was prompted by Czechoslovak, rather than Cuban, reality, by social order, so to speak.

The fact is that with a marked growth of disatisfaction in Cuban society—mainly with material difficulties—there are no signs of imminent anti-government mass action on the island. It is also hardly possible to talk about a likely (compared with Romania) confrontation between the Army and the state security forces. In particular, since as soon as former Minister of Internal Affairs Jose Fernandez was sentenced last year to a term of 20 years for corruption and other crimes, and some of his employees were arrested and some were shot, army generals took over the Internal Affairs Ministry (also responsible for state security).

Only on one point can one agree with the Czechoslovak colleague: If the initiation of radical reforms comes not from above (as it happened in our country), but from below, from the wings, a clash cannot be avoided. The degree of general preparedness of the Cubans to curb any encroachment upon the country's sovereignty and the existing system, it seems to me, cannot be compared either with Romania or any other East European country.

Boys on the Havana embankment shot from bows and slingshots into the waves of the Gulf of Mexico. The enormous slings (a popular symbol in Cuba—a weapon in the Spanish version of the Bible, with the help of which David killed Goliath) together with heaps of stones were prepared in advance by adults. Other grown-ups on the same embankment were firing from anti-aircraft guns at random. But whoever was threatened by slingshots and more up-to-date weapons by two million people mobilized for the Cuban Shield war games was nowhere to be seen.

Yet the regular mass rehearsal of "nationwide war" was arranged last spring not without reason: at that time the Americans held an unprecedented show of strength off the shores of Cuba, conducting simultaneously three different annual series of manoeuvres. If the US administration wanted to bankrupt Cuba of blank cartridges or to show the mighty rear units of the base at Guantanamo Bay, then it achieved its aim. But hardly has it any reasons to be satisfied with the impact of this anachronistic war game on the situation inside Cuba.

We in the USSR, having concentrated on our Afghan syndrome and other ailments, do not have a very clear idea of how the invasion of Panama by US troops and the kidnapping of its leader was received in Latin America. And no matter how great the differences between Fidel Castro and Antonio Noriega, on the scale of American affections, the Cuban leader is placed even lower than the former Panamanian leader. So, as we can see, the Cubans have ample reasons for strengthening their defence and patriotic sentiments. But I believe that such sentiments as well as slogans like "No concessions," "Come what may" cannot contribute to the flourishing of pluralistic views, about the need for which the leaders of Cuba are now voicing.

The attempts of the US telecasting in Cuba appear to me an unlucky venture. I hoped to find out its meaning in a heart-to-heart talk with Roberto Rodriguez, chief of the TV Marti office in Miami. But I heard only assurances of peaceful intentions and the desire to provide Cubans with information they were lacking.

As for information, earlier the Cubans could receive it from the broadcasts of the branch of Voice of America—Radio Marti (although the authorities did not encourage listening to it). Now this radio station, together with TV Marti, is jammed—a result which was contrary to what was planned. As for peaceful intentions, not every spectator will believe them. Moreover, Radio Marti, too, assuring that in Cuba, there is nothing but a host of problems and enemies of Castro, thereby materialized the "image of the enemy," which the local press portrayed to the Cubans. An enemy dreaming of a comback and revenge.

Meanwhile the emigrants in Miami and dissidents in Cuba, whom I met, resolutely oppose US military interference. Some of them even regard themselves as supporters of the Cuban revolution. For example, former journalist and now a night watchman Yndamiro Restano wants only a harmony in society and a free dialogue with the government in order to do away with "the isolation of those who guide and the passive unity of the guided." He assured me that it has become easier of late for dissidents and that the people express their discontent more freely. But the idea of a multiparty system is being rejected officially, as before, and opposition remains illegal. A simple meeting of dissidents in the house of some of them gives rise to wrathful condemnation in the press and a manifestation of "public indignation," and the police has sometimes to save from protesting neighbours the opposition leaving the meeting. One can be sentenced to a term in prison for an "illegal meeting." That is why I find it difficult to judge the present bounds of permissible pluralism of views and its further evolution in conditions of military threat and likely economic complications.

Political pressure on Cuba from the north, I believe, only strengthens its regime. It's much more complicated to assess the results of the protracted economic war waged by the northern neighbour, added to which is the plight of the former socialist community. Yndamiro Restano fears that the economic crisis threatening Cuba will lead to the downfall of its political structures. And Professor Amador Blanco, chairman of one of the unofficial commissions on human rights, foresees in the arising situation "the beginning of a civil war and the attending disastrous consequences for the nation."

Is it not wishful thinking on the part of Cuban soothsayers? Among the country's problems are a debt of seven billion dollars to the West, which can't be paid off; plans which frequently remain unfulfilled; low labour discipline and all kinds of shortages. Some of the solutions offered are: expansion of tourism oriented towards Western clients; the development of some science-intensive economic branches; industrialization of agriculture to produce twice as much pork after three years and milk after six years.

My Western colleagues find in Cuba the sprouts of economic pluralism, shooting forth despite the decision not to allow anything resembling capitalism. Private dealers in Cuba (as distinct from the USSR) were not eliminated altogether; all these years they were allowed to own, for example, farms and trucks. In general, the building of socialism on the island, although being inspired by the Soviet model now known as "the administrative-command" method was being conducted in a more civilized way and which much less destructions. The "service record" of the Cuban revolution does not include mass repressions, dispossession of the kulaks and other acts of lawlessness which have left deep scars in society of other countries. One can understand the importance of this fact for the preservation of the stability of the operating government system.

However, this stability, no matter whether the aforementioned dissidents are right or not, is to face a serious trial in connection with the restructuring of economic relations with the outside world, the USSR first and foremost. The Soviet side has confirmed all its commitments for the current year, stemming from the five-year agreement. Compared with last year, the turnover of goods even grew by more than eight percent, because in that period we failed to deliver over 350 million rubles' worth of goods. But will the commitments be fulfilled better now that the situation in the Soviet economy is worse? What is in store for Cuba? As is generally known, it is already preparing for the so-called "special situation in peaceful conditions." But the substitution of mules for trucks and manual labour for engines won't solve all problems.

I am trying to write about this with a maximum of tact. Once the Cubans reproached me for the "ironic tone" in one of my articles. I think it is worth reflecting on where this tone came from.

We have a long-standing tradition, according to which criticism of the Cuban leadership has limits which it itself places. I don't know what the attitude of this leadership to such practices is, because I did not have the occasion of asking. For many years now, NEW TIMES has been waiting in vain for an interview with Fidel Castro. We are waiting, so to speak, in good company. Pravda and TASS correspondents also failed to meet with the Cuban leader even on the eve of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Cuba. But Castro frequently talks to Western journalists for hours. Isn't it our "meekness" that makes him not interested in an encounter with us?

Then how is one to find the right tone when, having realized the utter failure of our own administrative-command system, we are supposed to continue, "for the sake of friendship," wishing Cuba successes and improvement of its Cuban variant? Even if such a system has the best conditions for survival here—natural and social, including the prestige of Castro (I met people here who admitted they were "not socialists, but Fidelists"). It remains for one to think that the Cubans still have time.

It may also be hoped that no matter how this time is used, it won't come to extremes on this blessed island. Something else worries me in earnest. This is, I repeat, the blind hatred for Castro displayed by some high-ranking U.S. officials and the universal readiness for self-sacrifice, cultivated in Cuba. Both are a direct threat to present-day cheerful boys with slingshots.

Supreme Soviet

19 Sep USSR Supreme Soviet Proceedings Reported

LD1909195790

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1750 GMT on 19 September broadcasts a recorded report on the 19 September proceedings of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which is meeting in committees and commissions in the Kremlin in Moscow.

There is a report from the Economic Reform Committee, whose meeting was attended by a U.S. businessman. In an interview the U.S. businessman wishes success to Soviet economic reform.

At 1758 GMT there are interviews with various deputies on which economic reform program they support. Boyko supports the presidential program, as do Chernyak and Bronshteyn.

At 1757 GMT Bunich discusses in an interview ways to speed up privatization—for example by selling off apartments to occupants and by allotments to small enterprises. He suggests distributing state property equally to everyone. There has been a political revolution, he says, now there must be an economic one, too.

At 1805 GMT Vologzhin reports on how the proposed programs will be discussed in the Supreme Soviet.

At 1807 GMT the Agrarian Commission is reported to have been discussing the effect of the proposed program on agrarian matters. Chernoivanov is interviewed on this. The government program would be better than the Shatalin one for farmers, he says.

At 1813 GMT the Shatalin program is supported by Grishchenko in an interview.

At 1819 GMT Nikonov, president of VASKhNiL, expresses his opinion on which program would be better for agriculture. What is needed is hard work, not emotions, he says.

The recorded report ends.

Work on Economy Labeled 'Nervous,' 'Excited'

LD2009102490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] In the commissions and committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet: at the microphone is Marina Novitskaya, all-Union radio parliamentary correspondent. Hello, Marina, we are listening:

[Novitskaya] Hello. As you know, it is here in the committees of the Supreme Soviet and in the commissions of its chambers, that the discussion has moved on to the main issue for all of us I think: the stabilization of the economy and transition to the market. There are now three centers of discussion, if one can put it like that. In session simultaneously are the Committee on Agrarian Issues, and, together the Committees on Science and on Popular Education. I have also just come back from a joint session of all four commissions of the Soviet of Nationalities.

May I remind you that these are commissions such as the Commission on Social and Economic Development of Union and Autonomous Republics, Autonomous Oblasts, and Okrugs, the Commission on Interethnic Relations, and the Commission on Culture. Comrade Nishanov, chairman of the chamber, has arrived here. The main aspect of discussion here is the transition of Union and autonomous republics, oblasts, and okrugs to the market. It may happen that the republics will choose different programs for transition to the market—is it then possible at all? This question, in its various variations, is the one mainly being put to a representative of the Shatalin group. It does not appear possible to put it to the authors of the government's program; they were invited to the session but apparently were unable to attend.

So, the economists from the Shatalin group reckon that they have in fact managed to resolve this problem. They have been working, as you know, in cooperation with representatives of the Union republics, and at first the latter suggested the rejection of a federal tax altogether, replacing it with voluntary contributions, the size of which would be determined by the republic itself. In the process of drafting the program, it proved possible to persuade the republics that a federal tax is necessary after all. There are state and all-Union programs, for example the program for eliminating the consequences of Chernobyl, which affects three republics at once.

Another question which is of great concern to the deputies from the Soviet of Nationalities is whether account will be taken of the fact that the starting conditions for transition to a market are different in various republics. Yes, indubitably, the authors of the program replied; it is expected to create a fund for subvention and development, and tax privileges for those that are behind. Well, I would like to note that in general the atmopshere at this session is somewhat nervous and excited. Perhaps this is because the deputies sense the extent of their responsibility and want to make a faultless choice. Our well known artist, Andrey Vladimirovich Vasnetsov, as he has just said at the session, has already made his choice. In his opinion, the Shatalin program is the first he remembers as having shown real concern for culture underpinned by real measures.

It looks as if the session of the commissions will continue here on Kalinin Prospect until midday, and they have decided to have a joint meeting at 1500 [1100 GMT] in order to pull together the conclusions of all the commissions. We will tell you about that; meanwhile that is the end of my report from the Supreme Soviet building on Kalinn Prospect.

Finance Commission Considers Draft Banking Laws

PM1909122190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by V. Romanyuk: "Banks in a Market System"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Planning, Budget, and Financial Commission has examined draft laws on the USSR Gosbank [State Bank] and on banks and banking activity.

A. Orlov, deputy chairman of the commission, recalled the conceptual requirements which form the basis of the drafts: depoliticization of the banking system, which means separating it from the executive organs of power and taking account of the lawmaking activity of the republics; its demonopolization; a high degree of autonomy for republic and commercial banks; the development of competitive conditions among banks; and diversity of banking activity. In refining the drafts submitted by the government, these requirements have been substantially incorporated.

Lawmaking is a very arduous process. I have now been present at perhaps the fourth examination of the drafts, but even now dispute breaks out again and again. Four articles were removed after discussion (and earlier still, ten were removed and seven combined). Such exactingness is understandable: The law is being created for the future rather than the present. And these draft laws should be examined in close interrelationship with the draft laws on currency regulation and investment policy. Only in conjunction will they create real market economy mechanisms and ensure an enhanced role for money as a stimulator of vigorous economic activity.

The central question of discussion was that of the correlation between the functions and powers of the central Gosbank and Union republic banks. It was laid down that the USSR Gosbank is a system of central banks. The functions which republic banks delegate—the issuing aspect of regulatory functions and the normative functions—will come under its jurisdiction. Much was said about the need to increase the autonomy of the central republic banks and the commercial banks. At the same time, the deputies agreed that the country needs a single monetary system and sensible centralization.

The drafters proceeded from the premise that 15 sovereign republics exist in the USSR and each, in accordance with its right to sovereignty, is entitled to have its own currency and consequently its own monetary system. But realities are such that the ruble is the sole currency throughout the territory of the USSR and for that reason the "rules of the game" should be the same everywhere. And since the USSR Gosbank is being transformed into a system of central republic banks, an agreement on the use of a single monetary unit throughout the territory and the pursuit of a single monetary policy should be concluded. Incidentally, in the draft by Academician S. Shatalin's group, the idea of the unity of the monetary system and monetary policy is a key notion and is presented in an even more rigorous form than in the draft law under examination.

The second key question was the subordination and accountability of the USSR Gosbank. In the governmental draft it remained subordinate to the USSR Council of Ministers and was regarded as part of the government apparatus. In the United States, the central bank is subordinate to Congress rather than the Department of the Treasury, but each week the secretary of the Treasury and the chairman of the Federal Reserve system discuss the methods of regulation which may be used to greatest effect—fiscal, budgetary, or banking. Previously the USSR Gosbank served first and foremost the needs of the state budget. The present version of the draft law says that the Gosbank system at both the central and local levels is accountable to the Supreme Soviet.

V. Gerashchenko, chairman of the USSR Gosbank Board, reminded deputies in his speech that the banking system had for many decades been part of the administrative system: It essentially reflected, via its credits and monetary assets, the movement of material resources carried out under the national economic plan. The bank prompted the granting of credit sometimes to make up for a shortage of working capital, and sometimes to cover financial gaps. Now, however, the banks must structure their work upon the basic principles of payment for services, fixed periods of payment, and repayability. Moreover, clients must receive the right to choose the banking establishment which best satisfies their credit requirements.

Discussion heated up during the examination of the draft laws over the rights, duties, and limits of control on the part of the central bank over commercial banks' activity. V. Gerashchenko advocated that strict control be retained to prevent undue liberalization in this sphere leading to abuse.

I thought that a certain consensus had been reached between the deputies' working party and the leaders of the banking departments even before the present discussion. But the difference in approach was now regarded as pretty plain. For example, regarding the USSR Workers' Savings and Credit Bank. V. Gerashchenko was quite willing to harness it to his chariot, but deputies concertedly advocated autonomy for the USSR Workers' Savings and Credit Bank, otherwise the very idea of democratizing banking would be called into question.

The method for creating new commercial banks—whether by authorization or registration—seemed a special issue. The principle of authorization prevails in world practice, that is to say, it stipulates a whole series of conditions. Interest in the registration principle predominates in our republic. Deputy S. Khadzhiyev expressed the opinion that, given the present scale of corruption of the state apparatus, it is most sensible to adopt the principle of setting up commercial banks by registration, where the danger is far less. There was also talk of the need to establish control over the activity of the USSR Gosbank itself. A system of control by "four eyes" was also submitted for approval. That is to say, not a single document will issue from the USSR Gosbank bearing only the chairman's signature. Continuing the theme of increasing the autonomy of banking establishments, Deputy V. Gubarev proposed removing the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity from the jurisdiction of the USSR Council of Ministers State Foreign Economic Commission, and the USSR Bank for Industrial Construction from government tutelage.

Summing up the results of the discussion, Commission Chairman V. Kucherenko stated that the new version of the draft law differs radically from what was submitted to the government for consideration. The government is being given the right to sign this document or not. In any event the Planning, Budget, and Financial Commission will submit it for first reading by the Soviet of the Union.

Many committees and commissions proposed waiting until the adoption of a Union treaty and only then embarking on reform of the credit and financial system. But the situation in the national economy is such that further delay in this important sphere is impermissible.

Committee Work Continues 20 Sep

LD2009074690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0400 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] Examination of the programs for the transition to a market economy will continue in the committees and commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Work also lies ahead on a number of draft laws which are to be submitted for discussion by the session. The country's Supreme Soviet will work in committees and commissions until 21 September.

Comparison of Gorbachev's 17 Sep Address

PM1809155590

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 18 September 1990 carries in its Second Edition on pages 1-2 the apparent text of USSR President Gorbachev's 17 September speech at the USSR Supreme Soviet session. The PRAVDA item, entitled "On the Way to a Market Economy," has been compared with the Moscow Domestic Service in Russian version published under the headline "Speech Carried on Moscow Radio" in the 18 September Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 29-33, revealing the following variations:

Page 29, column two, paragraph six, sentence two, PRAVDA reads: ...to the market.

During these days.... (omitting passage, picking up second paragraph)

Same column, antepenultimate paragraph, only sentence, PRAVDA reads: ...speak of some questions of a general order and to express.... (omitting "several" and adding "of a general order")

Same column, penultimate paragraph, sentence two, PRAVDA reads: ...being handed over to the power of spontaneity, and this applies above all to retail prices.

It is just such.... (adding "to" and omitting "and in our country")

Page 30, column one, first partial paragraph, first partial sentence, PRAVDA reads: ...people's living conditions. In general, all these matters should be clarified at this stage. People must know what.... (adding "in general," omitting passages)

Same column, third complete paragraph, last sentence, PRAVDA reads: ...to the slogan: Factories and plants to the workers... (omitting "familiar to us all" and adding "and plants")

Same column, fourth complete paragraph, sentence one, PRAVDA reads: ...a powerful boost to the initiative of people, to their labor activity, to business enterprise.... (omitting "to initiative" and adding "activity")

Same paragraph, sentence two, PRAVDA reads: ...variety of forms, using certain rules.... (omitting passage)

Same page, column two, second complete paragraph, last sentence, PRAVDA reads: ...with problems, complexes, and stereotypes.

To put it.... (omitting "affections, and so forth)

Same column, third complete paragraph, sentence one in PRAVDA reads: ...ideological, psychological, and national—both of the good done by generations.... (rewording)

Same column, paragraph four, sentence two, PRAVDA reads: ...that, as Comrade Bocharov asserts, in Australia, everything is simply wonderful. The main thing is not to let the following happen: that while renouncing the administrative-edict system forcibly foisted upon society in its time, we once again embark upon the path of subjectivism, the mechanical use of theoretical plans.... (correcting name, omitting "comrades," rewording)

Same paragraph, sentence four, PRAVDA reads: ...fundamental interests, and their mood and psychology. We must have such a policy and such laws, the implementation of which would allow people to decide freely, to make.... (rewording)

Same column, last paragraph, only sentence, PRAVDA reads: ...to implement further with the socialist idea, the socialist choice.

Let us consider things. Is the.... (rewording)

Page 31, column one, first partial paragraph, third complete sentence, PRAVDA reads: ...labor efforts, the degree to which a person has an interest in the.... (rewording)

Same column, third paragraph, sentence four, PRAVDA reads: ...among people who are not very well versed in economics, but also in quite respectable gatherings burdened by great knowledge. It is frequently... (omitting "let's say," adding passage)

Same paragraph, sentence five, PRAVDA reads: ...a minimum wage, allowances for those incapable of work, pensions, square meters of housing, free medical.... (rewording, adding "square meters of")

Page 31, column two, paragraph three, last sentence, PRAVDA reads: ...working in today.

Should there be private ownership of land or not? It is the people's sovereign right to decide this question. It can be.... (rewording)

Same column, last paragraph, sentence two, PRAVDA reads: ...we oversimplify it. We cannot avoid extremes. Some people think.... (omitting passages)

Same paragraph, last sentence, PRAVDA reads: ...I believe that a majority in the country understands well the importance of this task. More than that.... (rewording)

Page 32, column one, first complete paragraph, sentence two, PRAVDA reads: ...have said already, this group was given instructions to attempt to.... (omitting passages)

Same column, third complete paragraph, sentence two, PRAVDA reads: ... the proposed approach and—since I consider this very important—on the difference of this variant.... (rewording)

Same column, fourth complete paragraph, first paragraph, PRAVDA reads: ...restoration of disintegrating ties. Overall, I think.... (omitting "economic")

Page 32, column one, first complete paragraph, sentence three, PRAVDA reads: ...its profound transformation. I wish to emphasize that the main aim—returning to this.... (adding passage, omitting "comrades")

Same column, third complete paragraph, sentence one, PRAVDA reads: ...ordered in time. You would have only to change them around or start to let prices.... (rewording)

Same column, last paragraph, sentence one, PRAVDA reads: ...into account in this program from the suggestions made by representatives of the republics. They were at work constantly, taking part in preparing the ideas. I must say.... (rewording, omitting "for this program")

Page 33, column one, third complete paragraph, sentence one, PRAVDA reads: ...In recent days, "Down with the.... (omitting passage)

Same paragraph, sentence two, PRAVDA reads: ...important to say now as well: Such a formulation of the question is completely unacceptable, although we hear it from various podiums, and especially squares. Were we to follow it, it would draw.... (omitting passages, rewording)

Same column, fourth complete paragraph, sentence one, PRAVDA reads: ...implement a new all-Union treaty. These are questions which we must tackle now. At the same time I must repeat that we cannot manage without, where necessary, making changes and adjustments to the system of the organization and functioning of power and government. This will be organically connected with the needs of the market economy of a multiethnic state, rather than being of some self-sufficient character. I think.... (rewording)

Same column, last paragraph, last sentence, PRAVDA reads: ...and legal stabilization. We have gotten really close to the phase of fundamental changes which will lead to a radical renewal of our society. All strata of society, all political tendencies.... (rewording)

Page 33, column two, first complete paragraph, sentence one, PRAVDA reads: ...We must resolutely oppose those who incite people to use acute forms: strikes and irresponsible demonstrations. When we stand on the threshold of great and profound changes from which we expect an improvement of the situation in the country, it is inexcusable to be drawn into political battles and shoot at each other with guns of varying caliber, regardless of what charges fly at each other. I am sure that all forces, all political tendencies must now subordinate themselves—I repeat this.... (rewording)

Political & Social

Russian Parliament Calls for Ouster of Ryzhkov

AU1909135790 Paris AFP in English 1343 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow, Sept 19 (AFP) — The parliament of the Soviet Republic of Russia on Wednesday [19 September] overwhelmingly approved a motion calling for the resignation of Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov and his cabinet.

The resolution will be submitted to the Soviet parliament Friday.

Mr. Ryzhkov has become the main rival of the Russian Republic's president, Boris Yeltsin, in the choice for an economic plan of transition to a market economy for the Soviet Union. The plan supported by Mr. Ryzhkov calls for much slower reforms than the one backed by Mr. Yeltsin.

The vote was 154 in favor, four against and 18 abstentions.

The text of the resolution is to be publicly released Thursday, members of the Russian parliament said.

Last week, Mr. Yeltsin had said such a vote would be inappropriate, but he later changed his mind and called for the resignation of the Ryzhkov cabinet in a television interview.

A member of both the Russian and Soviet parliaments said the text, which calls "for the principle of the resignation of the cabinet," would be submitted at the next plenary session of the Soviet chamber of deputies on Friday.

Yeltsin on RSFSR Opinion of Economic Plan

LD1909172390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Text] Now, to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet session:

Although Russia's deputies have already decided—as you know, they have chosen Academician Shatalin's program—there is still concern about it. Today, from the very start of the sitting, there was discussion about when and how implementation of the program would begin. Until now, the date 1 October has been given.

Deputy Konstantinov asked Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin for an explanation:

[Begin recording] [Konstantinov] I would like to remind you that the RSFSR Supreme Soviet approved the program on the whole; that the RSFSR Supreme Soviet has instructed the Council of Ministers chairman to complete work on it within one month; and that we were assured that a republican, a truly republican, program would be presented to the Russian parliament which we would not approve but adopt. Despite all these reservations, despite the fact that it is quite evident that the mechanism for implementing it is not prepared, the decision has been taken to launch the program from 1 October. I ask that we be given an explanation.

[Yeltsin] Yes. Since you are giving totally inaccurate information, it really is necessary to explain.

First, we never, and our decision reflects this, intended to approve a Russian program, because the union program has been created on the basis of the Russian concept. Point three of our decision says that, in one month—yesterday Silayev, the chairman of the Council of Ministers, said they would try to do it in three weeks—a plan would be prepared for specific actions to implement the program in Russia. I remind you of this. We adopted the decision: There was only one vote against.

Second, the Presidium has not adopted a decision to put the program into operation from 1 October. There was no meeting of the Presidium; there was a conference, a working conference. Various points of view were expressed there that, perhaps from 1 October, considering the fact that the legislative process is also included in the program, the passing of laws—these 20 laws that must be passed, 15 by us and five by the union's Supreme Soviet—also be included in the first 100 days. Therefore, we have already begun implementing this program for passing laws, although many people clearly consider that there is a delay now, considering the fact that the people in general do not know where to turn.

We must, in the end, clearly determine and say that we are beginning to implement the program. This mobilizes everyone to legislative activity; to adopt the laws more quickly; and, in general, to adopt other measures more urgently.

The Council of Ministers is now doing more work on the program, considering the criticisms and proposals and the program of more specific actions which will reflect all of the nonproductive sphere, the social part, social protection, the mechanism of privatization, and the mechanism for implementing the program. It will be in the plan for actions proposed by the Council of Ministers at the end of, well, more accurately, at the beginning of October. [end recording]

Leningrad Mayor Proposes Coalition Government

LD1909134690 Moscow TASS in English 1327 GMT 19 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Budris]

[Text] Moscow September 19 TASS—The proposal to form a seven-party "coalition government of national confidence" with Leningrad Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak as the head was put forward today by the centrist bloc of political parties and movements.

Representatives of this bloc, set up in June 1990 by 12 parties and movements, held a news conference at the Communist Party Central Committee press centre today.

Chairman of the bloc's organising committee Vladimir Voronin said the bloc was working on its own plan for the transition to a market-based economy, which it plans to submit to the Soviet parliament if it fails to approve any of the programmes it is now debating.

The plan will first be aired at the forthcoming forum of democratic forces, scheduled for December 21-23 in Moscow.

According to Voronin, the bloc is ready to discuss the composition of a new cabinet with the Soviet president and the USSR Supreme Soviet.

After considerable cuts, the new plan proposes to retain a few depoliticized national ministries and state committees, including the Foreign Ministry, the Defence Ministry, the Interior Ministry and the State Security Committee, after changing the structure of the latter.

Representatives of the bloc's political parties and movements are mostly members of local authorities at district, city and regional levels.

Centrist Bloc Leaders Meet With Journalists

LD1909200990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 19 Sep 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The first meeting between leaders of the centrist bloc of political parties and movements and journalists took place at the CPSU Central Committee press center in Moscow today.

[Correspondent T. Gavrilova] This bloc includes the USSR Liberal Democratic Party, the Peace Party, the Russian People's Front, the Society of Soviet Germans, and some others. What is the central point of this association? There are dozens of newly created parties in our country today but, because of their small numerical strength, they cannot play a significant role in society's life. The centrist bloc is precisely an attempt at forming a new influential political force. The bloc's main task was described in the following way.

[V.V. Zhirinovskiy, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of the Soviet Union] We offer to everybody: Let us unite at the center to avoid both the extreme left and the extreme right. All those who are for centrist forces, who are for a balance precisely at the center, those advocating any ideology and views—we call on them to prevent yet another attempt by the extreme left or exreme right to come to power.

[V.V. Voronin, chairman of the Executive Committee of the A.D. Sakharov Union of Democratic Forces] You will certainly ask questions about the 500 days program or the governmental program. We are following them closely but we have spotted other issues, too. We wish great success to the 500 days program, to Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin in his difficult, very difficult destiny now, for his destiny is our destiny.

[Gavrilova] As was seen from answers to journalists, the centrist bloc of political parties and movements is coming for the most broad pluralism in both politics, the economy, and morality. Time will tell to what degree this policy is correct. Nowadays the centrists are working on the formation of a government of national trust which they are going to put forward to the country's president.

Future Power Projection Uncertain

PM1909143990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Article by L. Shevtsova, doctor of historical sciences: "Crisis of Power. Why It Arose and How We Can Emerge From It"]

[Text] To whom does power actually belong in Soviet society? To party structures, the Union parliament, the Presidential Council, the president himself? Where does power lie in the republics and at local level? Maybe it is still in the process of passing from some hands into others?

People are asking these questions increasingly often today. Recently K. Prunskiene bluntly explained why the Lithuanians have delayed talks with the center. At present, she said, it is not clear with whom we should reach agreement—the Union, Russia, or Moscow? Who will control the resources tomorrow, who will provide a guarantee of the fulfillment of agreements? You may conclude a treaty, then your partner shortly loses all his powers. The same question is also bothering the West. Especially now that the problem of real aid to the USSR is being discussed. Western government and business circles are seriously considering who should actually be given aid. Who in the USSR is the main subject of power? Who will bear the responsibility for development in conditions where the empire is crumbling but the outlines of the new statehood are still uncertain? And, most importantly of all, who will repay the debts—the center, Russia, individual republics, or independent states?

And let us take a look at what is going on at local level, at the confusion there. Party bodies are preoccupied with their internal problems, and the soviets are as yet helpless. So the impression of anarchy emerges. Laws are adopted but not fulfilled. Conflicts are multiplying but are not being resolved. People have a growing sense of hopelessness, and often fear for their own fate. You increasingly often hear it said: "These are troubled times. Anarchy..." Moreover, the lack of political culture is also making itself felt. We acutely lack the skills to conduct social debates in a civilized fashion and there is a lack of civil consensus, without which it is difficult to implement changes.

Clearly, Soviet society is in a transitional state. But why is the whole process in our country more agonizing than in East Europe, say? I think the point is primarily that in most neighboring countries (with the probable exception of Romania) when power fell out of some hands, it was immediately picked up by others. Ours was the only case in which the destruction of old structures began before new forces capable of taking power had emerged. For this reason many people are perturbed by the question of whether we have passed the point in our development where the processes of democratization become irreversible. Clearly not yet. As yet it is impossible to rule out various turnarounds, including attempts by those who are leaving the political arena to regain power. That would be a crazy venture, it is true. But let us also take into account the fact that the correlation of political forces in our country is still unstable. An attempted counterreformation by neo-Stalinists under the slogan of saving socialism cannot be ruled out. The death throes of the dying system may be particularly dangerous. Especially in conditions where we lack a united democratic front.

"You are wrong," the optimist will exclaim. "Neo-Stalinism no longer has any chance in our country." God grant that that is so. But even if we have buried it, its specter is haunting us. Now here, now there, with a shudder, we feel its presence and sometimes its iron grip.

Take a look at the provinces. The situation there remains extremely complex. Here and there party bureaucrats have already managed to curb the newly elected soviets and are continuing to call the shots. And what about the democrats? They are concentrated largely in the big cities. So it is difficult to say whose side the masses will take in the provinces and what their awakening will be like. Will they side with the "party of order," will they support the "movement in defense of class interests and equality" which is being adroitly manipulated by the partocracy, will they become a pillar of the nationalist upsurge? It is not impossible that the fate of perestroyka will be decided in the heartland.

"No, that is all wrong," someone will object. "Everything has always been decided at the center in our country." Let us see what is being done there. All the signs are that of late there has been a concentration of imperious powers in the hands of the president. So why then is it so difficult to shake off the impression that our center is ineffective? It is forever late, taking one step forward and two steps back. Very often policy boils down to ordinary tactics, to reacting to events and external pressure. Clearly, this is partly why we are uncertain about the future. Of course, it is very difficult to anticipate and foresee everything in the unprecedented turnaround that Soviet society is making. You cannot help progressing by trial and error. But even in this case society must have a sense of the prospects, must see which way it is heading, and must clearly know whose side its leaders are on.

Does any reader not know the kind of arguments that develop when people are establishing "why everything has gone wrong"? Opinions naturally differ. "Can you not see that Gorbachev still remains the hostage of powerful forces behind the scenes," some people ask. "The fact that he is restraining them is good in itself." Others agree that the president is indeed a hostage, but a hostage to his own stereotypes, and that his reformist impetus is now exhausted. However, other explanations are also possible. What many people regard as marking time may actually be an attempt to avoid social confrontation. What many regard as a sign of the weakness of power is in fact a desire on the part of the leader to resolve problems via compromise. "Why have you all concentrated so hard on fathoming Gorbachev's intentions?" a Western Sovietologist once said. "What matters is not what he wants, but what happens as a result of his actions. After all, he has brought about the destruction of the administrative-edict system."

What course will Gorbachev choose today, when a new stage in the development of society has begun?

Throughout these years our leader has tried to retain a centrist position, balancing between right and left. At certain moments this policy may have made it possible to avoid dangerous confrontation. But what has ultimately happened? The president finds himself under fire from both sides. The moment of choice has arrived for Gorbachev. And on the one hand he remains at the head of the CPSU, while on the other he takes a step toward Yeltsin and the forces that back him: A group to elaborate a new plan for economic reform is formed by joint decision of the two leaders.

So once again we have a compromise, a continuation of the centrist line. "Gorbachev is the great tightrope walker," Western observers have noted. Yes, our president has again demonstrated his tactical skill. But once again masses of questions have arisen for us. All right, Gorbachev has remained with the party "in order to curb the nomenklatura and keep it under control," as some people believe. But will this not have the reverse effect, won't the party, in its present form, restrain the reformist activeness of its leader? Just look: In all the East European countries presidents are trying not to link themselves with any party so that they have more grounds for being an arbiter in a pluralist society. And another point. May Gorbachev's step toward the left lead to the creation of a left-centrist bloc? As yet there is no final certainty about this.

Anyhow, are we entitled to pin all the responsibility for the development of events on one man? It increasingly seems to me that many processes are now out of control and have gained a spontaneous character. And what we now have in the economy, in politics, and in other spheres is the consequence of the interweaving of many tendencies and actions by various forces, including opposing ones.

And what is happening to the other all-Union organs—the parliament and the government? Unfortunately they are increasingly coming to resemble window dressing. You sometimes feel sorry in human terms for our Union parliamentarians and members of the Council of Ministers. They are in session round the clock and argue until they are hoarse. And what is the result of their activity?.. Has any of the many adopted laws really begun to operate? Has any of the government decisions proved effective? I have been trying to find out from specialists, but the politest response I get is a shrug of the shoulders.

I am not even talking about the government. To criticize it has become a sign of good manners. But, excuse me, if disillusionment with the Union government is so great, surely there must have been hopes? Hopes of what? That people who have devoted their entire lives to strengthening the directive-based economy will all of a sudden eagerly start to destroy it and switch it to a market footing?.. That is just like ordering a cyclist to get an aircraft airborne and then bring it in to land as well.

The all-Union parliament is also coming under a hail of criticism. Even its deputies increasingly admit that the supreme organ of power is working ineffectively. And the most sincere among them are bluntly calling for it to be dissolved as an organ that is blocking the country's progressive development. Well, the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies played an important role as a platform for democracy, raised the level of glasnost, and gave a new generation of politicians the opportunity to emerge, but then its tone fell sharply. The rally simply could not turn into a working organ. In essence all our Union organs were predicated on a unitary state, a one-party monopoly, and obedient masses. There is nothing surprising in the fact that the garb of perestroyka has now begun to hamper our movement.

Meanwhile society has entered an extremely risky phase of development. Essentially we have a triple crisis of power. First, the party skin is being slowly and painfully stripped from state machinery. And the drama of our situation lies in the fact that sometimes the social fabric is also beginning to crumble at the same time. After all, nothing holds it together except the administrative framework—all natural socioeconomic and moral bonds have long since been destroyed. Will we be able to swiftly restore them?

Second, the crisis state of the political institutions created during the period of perestroyka can also be noted. And third, it seems to me that a crisis of the soviets as a system of power has begun and is deepening. Of course, this conclusion still needs to be verified. But the data cited in IZVESTIYA are extremely symptomatic: In March, 30 percent of those polled believed in the potential of the soviets, but in July the figure was only 11 percent. And is the fact that 25 percent of voters did not take part in the recent elections not a manifestation of political apathy? It looks as though ordinary people do not greatly trust even the renewed, democratic soviets. Maybe it is time to think about creating a new system of local self-government. All the same, all the indications are that elections will have to be held ahead of schedule. The experience of organizing the new power in East Europe, particularly in Hungary and Poland, could prove useful here. And in general it is worth reflecting on how to overcome our obsession with five-year periods. During the transitional period, when development is accelerating greatly, is it conceivable to form [organs of] power for a whole five years ahead. Quite naturally, instead of the expected stability, we get upheavals. Why not learn from the Czechs, who create everything for just two years.

Here is some more food for thought. What do you think, which institutions are now coming to the fore in East Europe? Parliaments? No, governments. Their heads are the most authoritative people. They alone can rival presidents for popularity. It is the government apparatus that the most knowledgeable specialists join. We too should think about the phenomenon of the increase in the role of the executive branch during the transitional period.

But there is also another factor that is becoming decisive in the present political situation in the USSR. We are speaking of the swift decentralization of power, of transferring it to the republican level. Admittedly, this is happening spontaneously, on the fly, as it were, causing an avalanche of uncontrolled events and the disruption of the few remaining social bonds. But in general this trend is a natural consequence of the national emancipation of the peoples and the desire for republican independence and territorial autonomy. But why has this explosion of separatism occurred precisely now? Clearly the deepening of the crisis in Soviet society is the factor that is intensifying the desire of individual republics and regions to jump out of the common boat and to try their luck on their own.

"But how are we to make the transition to a common market if everyone is going to slam the door of their national apartments?" you will ask. Quite right. Society is in a vicious circle. A year or two ago it was still possible to carry out radical reforms in both politics and the economy within the framework of the whole Union. But the marking time has intensified separatist trends. And these may now seriously complicate real renewal, for the decentralization of power is not necessarily its democratization. Independence is still no guarantee of a switch to the market. When you observe processes in certain Soviet republics it is hard to shake off the impression that the party clans there are trying to exploit the idea of national independence as a means of preserving their own power. You cannot help recalling here the warning of Georgian writer Ch. Amirzdzhibi regarding the danger of "arriving at totalitarianism while heading for democracy." Incidentally, a similar threat was realized in Yugoslavia somewhat sooner. For some of its republics, such as Slovenia, independence is clearly a factor accelerating democratic transformations. But for a number of others it may mean the establishment of authoritarian regimes. That is the opinion of Yugoslav observers.

In the USSR too the process of the redistribution of power cannot be regarded as unequivocal. It may lead to the emergence of extremely conservative structures headed by bellicose forces that will stop at nothing. And what will happen then? Internecine strife, a struggle for resources and credit and for the revision of borders. Then you will see real Lebanonization of the USSR. Yes, I am laying it on a bit thick. But it is better to envision the worst possibility so that you can try to prevent it.

Now for what is going to determine the nature of power in our society in the next few years. But that question is now incorrect. You cannot speak of Soviet society as a whole. We can already see how the distinctive identity of its individual regions is deepening. This trend will intensify in the future. Despite the outward similarity of institutions of power, the political atmosphere and regime in individual republics or states will be different of course. To say nothing of the unevenness of their socioeconomic development. But when it comes to politics, it is also possible to reveal one common pattern which will clearly typify all regions. I am referring to the multiparty system.

Yes, political pluralism is an integral element of a civil society. But how justified are the great hopes pinned on the multiparty system in our country? Supposedly if we adopt a law on parties, hold new elections, and form coalition organs of power, a mass of problems will be eliminated. It is high time normal conditions were created for a multiparty system. But it is also important to evaluate that system's potential in our society so that we do not swing in the opposite direction if hopes are unrealized.

The point is that the number of parties is not a guarantee of civilized development. For instance, after the fall of the dictatorships in Spain, Greece, and Portugal so many parties emerged that for a while it was simply impossible to form normal governments and to get control of the situation. The existence of a multitude of small parties may complicate development, particularly when there is a need to implement radical and painful measures. In conditions of such chaotic pluralism power may be usurped by the one force possessing the organization, the means, and the know-how. Can you guess what that force is?

But can we talk of a real multiparty system in conditions where the real basis for this, primarily differentiation of interests, does not exist? Can associations of people around vivid personalities be called parties? Or groups that have coalesced out of a wave of discontent? Or supporters of an abstract goal? How stable will they be? Will they attract the broad masses or will they remain office-bound?

All this does not mean that there is no point in creating new parties. It is a method of involving people in political life. But as yet it is impossible to conclude that the time of powerful parties has come in the USSR, where there are no elementary traditions of political pluralism. Indeed, will it ever come? Maybe we have entirely bypassed the "party stage" and will immediately make the transition to implementing politics via small lobby groups and via the mass media.

Meanwhile we have entered the stage of mass social movements. These forces are the most effective ones in the struggle for power. But the worrying point is this. As a rule, the most vigorous and mass-based movements in our country are formed on a national-patriotic basis. Their democratic content sometimes takes a back seat. The lack of coordination between the political currents themselves is continuing to make itself felt—the "patriots" are a separate entity, the democrats are a separate entity, the workers movement is self-contained.

Today the fate of further reforms depends on whether all these forces will be able to find a basis for collaboration. The idea of convening a democratic forum and creating a democratic coalition is being quite actively discussed. And clearly an attempt will be made to implement it in the fall. What form may the unity of democratic forces take in our conditions? Convening another congress, talking, adopting a statement, and stopping at that? But this would be to miss another opportunity in the struggle to transform society. No one knows when the opportunity will arise again. I think that democrats are now faced with the task of creating a broad association such as an alliance or front.

This alliance could include everyone who cares about our society's democratic future—both party members and nonparty people. The association of democratic forces itself would also enable the center to adopt a more resolute and unequivocal position. The alliance of democratic forces must have its own structure—not rigid, of course, but certainly one with cells at local level. The local organizations of the alliance of democratic forces could be not only a source of the masses' activeness but also a counterweight to bureaucracy and maybe also a lever of pressure on irresolute soviets.

In gathering together the democratic forum, I think we cannot confine ourselves to Russia. The time of Union-wide political movements is clearly past. And attempts to create them by certain republics or states may be regarded as interference in internal affairs. But cooperation and collaboration among progressive forces in all regions are extremely necessary.

Our political fate will also be determined by the new ruling elite which we will be able to create. New leaders are coming to the fore. There are not many of them as yet. Not all of them have management experience. But they have one very powerful trump card—they are not connected with the past. However, a hard and possibly thankless role has fallen to the lot of this generation of politicians—to try to do something at a time of extremely grave crisis when, moreover, the situation is clearly going to deteriorate. But time is short. Unless they can cope in a year or two, the discontent may also turn against them. There are already attempts to blame the democrats for the failings of the former system. I recall the shadow of desperation on the tired face of one of the leaders of the Moscow Soviet when someone said to him: "Before your time at least there was order. And supplies were better."

But how many snares there are on the path of the new forces! One of them is connected with the fact that, however they twist and turn, it is necessary to take into account the old "rules of the game." And what about the temptations that the old system places in their way? I remember meeting an old acquaintance who had become a people's deputy at the airport. How proudly he swept past us into the deputies' lounge, and then out to the black "Volga" that was waiting for him. Another deputy, asked about the outcome of his housing difficulties, calmly replied: "They are going to give me an apartment soon. And in a good block." "Not in "Tsarskoye Selo'?" [allusion to royal family's rural retreat] (that was the nickname of the party apparatus' block) I joked. "The layout of the apartments there is old-fashioned," came the reply.

Society is entering the decisive stage. The new outlines of its statehood are beginning to emerge. The new correlation of forces is crystallizing at all levels. The role of the center is being transformed. A multipolar reality is emerging. Not only the look and structure of power but also its content are beginning to change. The most important thing now is not to wreck this peaceful process, not to succumb to provocation, and not to allow chaos to deepen. How and when this process will end depends on whether democrats are able to become the decisive force in it.

Legality, Need of KGB Activity Examined

90UF0532A Moscow PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK in Russian No 35, Aug 90 pp 8-9

[Article by Justice Colonel S. Martirosov, candidate of legal sciences: "The Writ of the KGB"]

[Text] Much is being said today about the need for the elimination of the excessive secrecy surrounding the state security authorities and an acceleration of the rethinking and restructuring of their assignments and functions in accordance with the new social and political conditions and requirements. At the same time individual violations in the work practice of this KGB organ or the other are being used at times for unsubstantiated generalizations. Not only essentially legitimate operations of the KGB authorities but the very existence of these authorities are frequently being pronounced illegal. I believe that the absence of public legislative regulation of the activity of the KGB authorities and also complete and truthful information about the rights accorded to them and the duties entrusted to them is objectively contributing first and foremost to the emergence of such phenomena.

The state security authorities are even now operating within the framework of the jurisdiction accorded to them by legal instruments of the highest organs of state power and administration of the USSR. The principal instrument here is the Regulations Governing the USSR Council of Ministers KGB, which were approved a little under 30 years ago—in March 1959—by the USSR Council of Ministers and CPSU Central Committee. But these regulations and also the majority of the legislative instruments adopted subsequently are legally binding instruments and of a secret nature.

Far from every operations officer, who, incidentally, is obliged to take the 1959 regulations, as the basic document determining his jurisdiction, as a guide, knows today of their actual content. Neither have the legal instruments regulating the administrative and legal relationships of the state security authorities and the citizens been published in the press for general familiarization and execution. That is, people are in fact ignorant of their duties established by legislation, which they must observe in certain situations requiring the intervention of the KGB. Nor do they know of the rights which they have been accorded and of which they could avail themselves here.

All this is not only fundamentally contrary to the principles of the formation and functioning of a state based on the rule of law, but is also creating big difficulties for the state security authorities themselves in the accomplishment of the tasks entrusted to them, and grounds for unsubstantiated attacks on the KGB. A law on the USSR KGB is needed. The enactment of such a law is for the state security authorities today an extreme necessity. Without legislative regulation of the entire diversity of their activity, as is customarily the case in respect of analogous services in all civilized states, the normal functioning of these authorities, particularly under the conditions of glasnost and democratization, is practically impossible.

Work on a draft law on the jurisdiction of USSR state security is now underway. It was considered twice by the USSR Supreme Soviet Defense and State Security Committee and was then forwarded to committees and commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet and a number of departments for review. The draft elicited extensive comment in the USSR Supreme Soviet and the departments concerned. Many competent and constructive proposals were expressed.

The draft law is now in committees and commissions of the Supreme Soviet for consideration by way of its preparation for discussion at the next session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Active work on it continues. It touches on many important matters, particularly those concerning citizens' rights and liberties, which require a very well-considered approach.

It should be said that many of the opinions put the emphasis particularly on protection of the rights and interests of citizens and assurance of their personal safety. It is rightly proposed that the draft law on the USSR KGB make of paramount importance precisely this, particularly the question of safeguards against violations of the rights and liberties of the citizens, glasnost being considered one such safeguard. The finishing touches are being put to the draft law precisely in this area.

Glasnost in the activity of the state security authorities—and the enactment of a public law on this would be an expression of this glasnost in the highest degree—is a principal factor of a strengthening of Soviet people's confidence in them. This would give Soviet people a clear idea of what the KGB authorities and forces are called upon to do, of what duties are entrusted to them, and of what actions of theirs are legitimate. With regard for this, the draft law on the USSR KGB defines as a basic principle of the organization and activity of the KGB authorities, together with such principles as legality, humanism, internationalism, and respect for the citizens' constitutional rights and liberties, the principle of glasnost. It is emphasized that the USSR KGB and the authorities and forces under its jurisdiction regularly notify the public on matters concerning the safeguarding of state security, employing the mass media to this end. It is important also that the citizens, state authorities, and public and other organizations have the right to obtain information available to the USSR KGB and the authorities and forces under its jurisdiction concerning their legitimate rights and interests, except for that which constitutes an official or service secret.

The draft law contains also a special provision guaranteeing protection of the honor and dignity of the citizens.

An article has been formulated in accordance with which persons serving in the KGB authorities and forces, upon performance of their service obligations and public duty, must operate strictly within the framework of the law, comply with the rules of professional ethics, respect citizens' dignity, and actively defend their constitutional rights and liberties. They are responsible also before the law for their unlawful actions. The draft especially emphasizes the responsibility before the law of officials of the state security authorities for the consequences of any unlawful decisions they adopt. The USSR KGB's obligation to adopt measures to restore citizens' rights when they have been violated as a result of the unlawful actions of servicemen under its jurisdiction, to make restitution for loss, and also to make a public apology at the demand of the citizen whose rights and interests have been infringed here, is also established. The right of citizens and other legal personalities to lodge an appeal against any actions of USSR KGB servicemen with superior state security authorities, a prosecutor, or a court of law, is stipulated.

The terms of reference of the USSR KGB are defined. It is said that the committee, in accordance with the jurisdiction it is accorded, submits to the president of the USSR, the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Council of Ministers, the highest organs of state power and administration of the Union republics, the USSR ministries and departments concerned, and also organs of state power and administration locally, information on the intentions and activity of foreign states affecting the security and sovereignty of the USSR and other interests of the Union state and the subjects of the federation, promotes the realization of the state's foreign policy course and the development of foreign economic and other relations with foreign countries, and protects the constitutional system of the USSR and its economic and defense potential against the encroachments of foreign states and criminal elements within the country. The KGB also ensures protection of the USSR state border, assists in realization of the program of scientific-technological, economic, and defense building, and implements measures pertaining to protection of the citizens' constitutional rights and liberties, the harmonization of interethnic relations, and the assurance of legality and law and order in the country.

In accordance with these assignments, specific duties of the USSR KGB are set forth pertaining to the gathering and analysis of intelligence information, the curtailment of the subversive activity of foreign special services against the USSR, the disclosure and frustration of betrayal of the motherland, espionage, sabotage, acts of terrorism, organized crime and other crimes pertaining by law to the jurisdiction of the KGB authorities, and the elaboration and implementation of measures pertaining to protection of the state border, protection of secrets, and to other matters.

Importance is attached to the exposition in the draft public law of the specific rights of the state security authorities, particularly those that might in practice directly affect the citizens' interests. Some of these rights were accorded them earlier by confidential legal instruments of the highest organs of state power and administration. This would enable employees of the state security authorities to master precisely the limits of their particular legal rights and simultaneously create real assurances of their observance of the rights of other citizens. This applies, specifically, to the procedure and conditions of the examination of citizens' papers attesting identity, administrative detention, examination and the transfer of materials to the competent authorities for the adoption of measures provided for by law and legality control by the procuracy in this sphere.

The draft law provides also for the KGB authorities' right to engage in actions which are, if you will, of an extreme nature. This means the use of means of transport of organizations and citizens and entry into premises which belong to them in instances brooking no delay. These provisions are analogous to those already contained in the law enacted by the Supreme Soviet on the obligations and rights of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs internal forces when safeguarding public order and in the draft law on the Soviet militia.

A most important aspect is definition of the status of the USSR KGB. The draft law presented for consideration to the committees and commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet affirms the present status of the USSR KGB as a Union-republic state committee of the USSR. It was established back in 1959 and is enshrined in the regulations. However, it may be said that this question still remains open. The unresolved nature of the problem of the federal, confederal, or some other arrangement of the future Union and the absence of new principles of legislation in the sphere of constitutional, administrative, and criminal law, the law of criminal procedure, and civil law are making appreciably more difficult the process of the elaboration of proposals pertaining to the ultimate definition of the legal status of the state security authorities.

Only a new Union treaty, it would seem, may constitute the basis of a definition of the status and authority of the USSR KGB and the state security authorities of the republics and other national-territorial formations. Until the new state and political structure of the USSR has been determined, the questions ensuing from it concerning, specifically, the status, functions, rights, and obligations of the state security authorities and the content and forms of the connection between the center and the local components cannot be resolved conclusively.

Safeguarding the security of a federal state requires the pursuit of a uniform state policy, which, in turn, should create the most conducive conditions for safeguarding the rights and interests of USSR citizens, in whatever part of the Soviet Union they live, protecting them against localist influence and local arbitrariness, which we have been encountering repeatedly of late.

Reserving with the consent of the republics the functions of the safeguarding of the state security of the federal state to the central authorities, which, incidentally, is customary in all modern federal forms of the government of society, that is, "the functions of the direct administration of organizations, enterprises, and establishments on the territory of the republic," as, for example, the recently adopted decree of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Congress of People's Deputies says, it is necessary to recognize the legitimacy of the functioning of the corresponding federal department to exercise this function.

At the same time the dynamics of the process of the development of the Union republics' independence and sovereignty must also be taken into account. It is possible and necessary today even in this connection to consider the question of the center's transfer to the local KGB authorities of certain functions with regard for the broadening of the rights of the subjects of the federation and the conditions and specific features of the corresponding national- territorial formations without detriment to the interests of the state security of the federation as a whole.

One of the most serious issues set forth in the draft law, probably, is that of the KGB authorities' employment of special methods and weapons. It is a question of the monitoring of mail and telephone conversations, covert surveillance, and so forth. It should be noted here that no state operates without such methods. This is an objective fact, which should be recognized.

The special services of foreign states operating against us today possess a vast arsenal of modern hardware developed on the basis of the latest achievements of science and technology. No state is as yet intending to eliminate these services, on the contrary, measures to strengthen them and perfect their activity are being adopted. The laws of many countries make it their citizens' duty to assist the special services in every possible way and keep secret information to which they have become privy concerning activities in which they have at the request of these services participated or which they have assisted.

I shall quote just two extracts from legislation of the FRG and the United States. The FRG law "Protection of Personal Information Against its Abuse During Processing," proclaiming the obligation of government authorities and institutions to make public the kind of personal information they gather, where they transmit it, and to what purpose, contains a special reservation that this requirement of the law does not apply to the constitutional protection authorities, the federal intelligence service, and military counterintelligence, and also the Defense Ministry authorities insofar as it concerns the security of the federation.

The law restricting the passing of written postal and telegraph and telephone secrets points out that the federal constitution protection authorities, the Bundeswehr Security Department, and the federal intelligence service have the right to open and inspect mail containing secret information and also read telegraph messages and bug and tape telephone conversations. This law makes it a duty of the federal post office to ensure all the necessary conditions for the competent authorities to engage in such activities.

Determining the right of the special services to conduct electronic eavesdropping, the U.S. law on surveillance of the activity of foreign intelligence services affirms that "no postal service and official, employee or agent thereof or homeowner, guard, or other person has the right to reveal the fact of the intercept of information or surveillance or the presence of the device by means of which the information is intercepted...." "Any violation of this clause... entails proceedings under civil law in accordance with legislation of the United States."

There can be no talk of any serious struggle against an enemy furnished with weapons and methods developed on the basis of the latest achievements of scientific-technological progress when one has at one's disposal merely Morse code, decommissioned automobiles, and a whole arsenal of instructional prohibitions and warnings, which exist today for our law enforcement authorities, including the KGB authorities.

We should not, I believe, be talking about whether to accord the KGB authorities the right to employ such weapons and methods or not but about the procedure and in respect of who specifically they may be used. And, most importantly, a mechanism of supervision of this activity should be devised to ensure that it not be activated to any extent to the detriment of society, the law, and individual freedom.

The draft law points out that the USSR KGB determines upon coordination with the USSR prosecutor general the precise framework, conditions, and procedure of the use of such weapons, abiding strictly by the prescriptions of the law. It is proposed to commission such a procedure following coordination with the USSR Supreme Soviet Defense and State Security Committee. At meetings of this committee, provision is made for periodic hearings of reports from the USSR prosecutor general and accounts of the USSR KGB on the observance of legality and the constitutional rights of the citizens in this sphere and, given the discovery of violations of the law and the citizens' constitutional rights and liberties, for the question of the guilty parties' responsibility before the law to be raised.

Of importance for the enactment of the law in question is the matter of the appellation of the authorities to whose activity it is devoted. There are proposals concerning a change of the name "USSR KGB." The formulation of the question is in itself, most likely, legitimate. Some people are giving as the reasons for their proposal in this connection the fact that, as they see it, the present name has been compromised in the eyes of the public by the history of these authorities, others believe that the term "state security" means the security of state institutions, not society as a whole, even less individual members of it.

While not objecting in principle to a possible change in the name "USSR KGB," I would like to mention one thing. I cannot agree that the term "state security" or "safeguarding state security" means the security merely of state institutions. The authors of this position justify it mainly by reference to the deformations in our social and political life which occurred in the past, particularly in the cult of personality period. It is my belief that it is not essentially a question of terminology but of the content invested in the concept itself. It is a question of safeguarding the security of society as a whole, including the state as an essential component and attribute of this society. Any attempt at the artificial division and, even more, the counterpoise of society and its integral parts, will come to nothing.

It should be mentioned also that the country currently lacks a body exercising at the state level the functions of supervision of the safeguarding of the country's security and coordinating activity in this sphere. The USSR Council of Ministers cannot fully perform these functions if only because, as the highest organ of state administration, it is competent to issue merely legally binding instruments and may not in practice exercise leadership of all matters of state security. In my view, the time has come to determine for this purpose a specific, entirely independent, but competent authority on a Union scale. A commission under the auspices of the president of the country or a commission of the USSR Presidential Council (like the U.S. National Security Council or the President's Intelligence Oversight Committee) or a group of independent inspectors general under the USSR president could, for example, be such an authority. Entrusting these functions to the USSR Supreme Soviet Defense and State Security Committee is also possible.

Secretariat Reviews Protective Measures for Arts

LD1309115290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1830 GMT 12 Sep 90

[Excerpt] Moscow, 12 Sep (TASS)—Urgent protective measures against the commercialization of culture and the arts, intensification of the fight against speculation, and a USSR draft law on "public associations" were discussed at the routine meeting of the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat.

Using the right to initiate legislation, the CPSU Central Committee intends to submit to the USSR Supreme Soviet a proposal to examine and adopt a draft basis for USSR and republic legislation on culture. It intends to hold meetings with creative intelligentsia at the CPSU Central Committee. It is proposed to transfer to cultural bodies individual buildings which are now part of the CPSU assets. Party committees at all levels are urged to work out specific action programs aimed at overcoming the attitude toward culture which has evolved.

Another issue at the Secretariat meeting is an issue of concern to all Soviet society. Speculation in the country has reached threatening proportions; it intensely aggravates people's dissatisfaction and social tension. Taking into consideration the situation which has developed and the social and political significance of the issue, the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat has suggested that the issue of urgent extraordinary measures aimed at the intensification of the fight against speculation should be submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet session as an urgent matter.

It was reported at the Secretariat meeting that in the last three years almost 11,000 new amateur associations and organizations have emerged. [passage omitted]

Committee Examines Commercialization of Culture

LD1909104690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee has examined the mounting trends of the commercialization of culture and measures to overcome it. Tomorrow a resolution will be published noting that democratization and glasnost have considerably enlivened the cultural life of society. At the same time, the CPSU Central Committee resolution stresses, in the country's spiritual life there is a growing trend toward the commercialization of culture with all its negative consequences for the moral health of society. Worries about the growing threat of the effects of this culture on people, especially children and youths, is expressed in letters from working people to the CPSU Central Committee, in statements by the country's people's deputies, literary and arts figures, and the mass information media. In this connection the CPSU Central Committee considers it necessary, using the right of legislative initiative, to submit a proposal to the USSR Supreme Soviet on the drafting and adoption of a bill to protect morality in the USSR.

Culture Becomes 'Americanized'

PM1309152790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Sep 90 First Edition p 4

[Special correspondent Major V. Kazakov report under the "Thoughts in Front of the Movie Screen" rubric: "Ah, That Rambo..."]

[Excerpts] "I want our country to love us like we love it." (From a Rambo monologue in the film "The Assignment" [Zadaniye])

On the roof of a house on Moscow's Pushkin Square, right opposite the place where the monument to the great

Russian poet has always stood, is a huge "Coca-Cola" advertising poster. On the other side of Tverskoy Boulevard is McDonalds, with a waiting line as long as those outside the Lenin Mausoleum. In the underground passages there are imported goods markets and trendy places to meet. And Pushkin surveys all this dejectedly, while the gray building with the "Rossiya" signboard and the bright bill for Rambo, which is showing there, peers myopically from behind his back.

And now imagine yourself for a moment on a square in New York where there is an advertisement for the drink "Buratino," a pelmeni or bliny restaurant, and where, behind a statue of the national genius a movie theater is showing a film in which dumb-looking Americans torture the daring Russian Superman. Absurd, isn't it? For Moscow, it is just as much a reality as the "Olivetti" logo which precedes our "Vremya" television program. True, most of us have no idea what "Olivetti" is, or what Central Television thinks it is up to, insistently inviting us to hire a Mercedes complete with driver. We have rather simpler problems: If only there were no waiting lines.

Ah, that Rambo... [passage omitted]

Near the picture house I spoke with a group of teenagers:

"How many times have you seen the film?"

"Four!"

"Five!"

"Eight!"

"Would you like to be like Rambo?"

"You bet!"

"And what do you think, do we have our own Rambos?"

"Maybe. Among the racketeers."

"And in the militia, the Army?"

"You must be joking!"

"No, wait, dope," a lanky, sporty-looking kid interrupted. "My brother served in the Special Purpose Troops."

We talked for a long time. It turned out that his brother now works in the Criminal Investigation Department. In parting, the kid announced: "Contemporary Soviet cinema is mediocre, and it drives away young people from picture houses into video stores. Watching "Rambo," "Niki," "The Adversary," [Protivnik] or the serial "Hunter," which is popular in the United States these days, boys really do want to imitate the heroes and serve society. Only the heroes are strangers, and they defend their own—American—state and fight against evil in their own home and always beat it. And America's honor, its flag, its policeman's or soldier's uniform, is sacred for them. But who is there to imitate in our cinema?"

Its output, it seems to me, can be divided into three groups. One is aimed at a narrow circle of intellectuals who can swallow unintelligible words and boring monologues spoken to the mirror. The second group, in its inanity and corniness, is aimed at absolutely nobody. The third group, which is a surefire success, can be entitled "The cinema whips and exposes." Only the objects of the scourge change: Formerly we fulminated against the accursed imperialists, nowadays we flog our own country, and that is all we care about.

It is unlikely that, when they have watched their fill of thieves within the law, cops' daughters, and opportunists, our boys will want to dedicate themselves to working for the militia, to become soldiers, to raise a strong family, and generally work for the good of the country and themselves.

Alas, today, whether we like it or not, our consciousness—and not only that of young people—is being Americanized. The United States is becoming both an ideal and a benefactor. And in the meantime debates go on in the government about where we are to go and how, while the people's living standards decline and their culture and economy, from being independent, increasingly become parasitical and reliant on Western capital. Experts say that when charity is generous, the role of a beggar quicky becomes a way of life. Don't let us go too far along this path too...

Psychiatric Reform Group Blocked

PM1909115490 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 37, 11-17 Sep 90 pp 38-39

[Article by Lev Yelin: "A Split And Personalities"]

[Text] In the 26th issue of NEW TIMES we reported the setting up in Moscow in March, 1989, of an Independent Psychiatric Association (IPA) headed by Yuriy Savenko. The Association has set itself the aim of getting a law on psychiatric aid adopted that would make null and void all the numerous departmental regulations and rule out any attempts of "officials and psychiatrists to take over functions which are within the sole competence of courts." According to Savenko, the IPA is a counterweight to departmental expert committees, a challenge to the situation when all forensic-psychiatric examinations are carried out by Serbskiy Institute of General and Forensic Psychiatry, which has "virtually become part of the Ministry of Health." In principle, Yu. Savenko favours the establishment of an independent professional organization of psychiatrists - a collegium of psychiatrists like the existing collegium of lawyers. In the meantime the public reception office of the association he heads has already received more than 200 people. In 60 cases a thorough examination by a commission consisting of three psychiatrists, produced a diagnosis that differed from that of the state medical institutions.

The Independent Association has already on several occasions come up against the use of psychiatry for non-medical purposes, but Yuriy Savenko nevertheless is far from proclaiming that his main aim is to "expose abuses in Soviet psychiatric practice." His credo is to get "legal procedures introduced which would prevent any such possibility and to render real assistance to people already today." There is nothing in the programme of the IPA which could be described as "extremist" or running counter to medical ethics. Unlike, say, the already notorious Moscow group led by M. Tsaregorodtsev. That group claims to have an "international status" and automatically issues a "mentally sane" certificate to all and everyone. As I understand, Tsaregorodtsev's aim is to "remove labels." But already several people who inspired by his diagnosis have sought to restore their status and rights in the official institutions and been disappointed have turned to our magazine for help. That lovely looking certificate proved a worthless piece of paper.

At the Congress of the World Psychiatric Association in Athens in October, 1989, the IPA was given membership status. You will recall that at the same Congress the All-Union Society of Neurologists and Psychiatrists had its membership restored.

Shortly before the Athens Congress an American delegation visited Moscow. Its members were surprised to learn that the release of many patients on the eve of their visit had been prompted solely by consideration of the moment. One patient was told that "the situation has changed" and "perestroika" was given as the reason for another's release. I think the American experts' confidence in the seriousness of the changes in Soviet psychiatric practice must have been considerably undermined also by the fact that a staff member of the Serbskiy Institute recently described all human rights champions of the Moscow Helsinki Group as "madmen."

Be that as it may, but in Athens the American delegation in the space of just one day made a turn about and voted for the All-Union Society. I may be wrong, but it seems to me that turn about was one of our Foreign Ministry's successes...

The Independent association urged its foreign colleagues to postpone a decision of the All-Union Society's membership for three years, "so that "the hasty cosmetic measures... could be replaced by real and radical changes." The cosmetic changes were indeed made in a hurry. Thus the All-Union Society in its official reply to the American report and its memorandum to the World Psychiatric Association (WPA) cited as evidence of changes the existence of an "independent commission" set up allegedly on the basis of a human rights group and said to have control functions. However, the representatives of the All-Union Society were unable to recall the name of a single member of this commission, nor its address... Apparently such an "independent commission" best suited the leadership of the WPA. While the Savenko Association, which had become real rival on the world arena and the supplier of alternative information, just got into its way.

On December 1st there was a split in the IPA. Strictly speaking, it is difficult to describe it as a split: two members who had earlier been expelled from the Association, another two who had resigned from it, two owners of flats where meetings of the Association were usually held and four psychologists (under the IPA's Charter only profession psychiatrists had the right to vote) decided to replace the President of the Association Savenko for "politicizing the Association's stand in Athens and for encroaching on the rights of nonpsychiatrists in the Association's Charter"... What actually happened was that a new organization was set up, led by the psychologists L. Kitayev-Smyk and a postgraduate student of the Moscow State institute of international Relations K. Karmanov (with psychiatrists in the absolute minority). It was however, decided to use the old name.

The purpose of the "coup" was obvious: to disavow and get rid of Yu. Savenko and his colleagues. It can hardly be accidental that the December meeting was attended by the Chief psychiatrist of the USSR Ministry of Health A. Karpov, who had formerly ignored the Association. Logically speaking, he should have shared the meeting displeasure with the "politicization of the IPA's stand at the Athens Congress." The group led by Kitayev-Smyk and Karmanov was quickly registered by Charity Fund, while the old IPA had been unsuccessfully attempting since March, 1989 to legalize its position. The new group also hopes to achieve membership of the World Association - but it looks as if that hope won't be realized.

"The World Association of Psychiatrists," Yuriy Savenko told me, "learnt of the putsch even before we did and informed us that it regarded it as an attempt of the authorities to put their own people at the head of the Association."

Yu. Savenko also has the support of the World Association against the use of psychiatry for political purposes, as well as of such prestigious figures in the human rights movement as Professor Peter Reddaway, with whom I recently had a long talk about the circumstances of the "putsch." It's true that the split-away group refuses to acknowledge such an argument as valid. In a letter to Nataliya Safronova, observer of the Meditsinskaya Gazeta, they accuse Savenko's supporters of serving the cause of the "anti- communist world."

Their use of words belongs to the days when the leaders of Soviet medicine, with their heads held up, proudly rejected the malicious insinuations of anti-communists that psychiatry was being used for non-medical purposes.

But why am I using the past tense? Right before me is the full text of the interview given by leaders of Soviet psychiatry at Sheremetyevo airport on their return from Athens.

"Our opponents sought to spread the attacks on certain individuals to the entire psychiatric system in the USSR!"

"This system was not a general practice, there was no social order - we did not agree! There might have been separate incidents... There were individual cases of abuse. That we can agree with."

But wasn't the World Association a bit too hasty in returning the All-Union Society membership without repentance? It might seem an unpatriotic thing to say, but patriotism is surely out of place when making a diagnosis...

Deputy Interior Minister Interviewed

PM2009091990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with V. Trushin, USSR deputy minister of internal affairs, by correspondent V. Reshetnikov; place and date not given: "How Much Order Costs"—first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] "On the Consolidation of Legality and Law and Order"—that is the heading of the USSR president's address issued recently to the heads of the Union and autonomous republics, chairmen of the oblast, kray, and okrug soviets of people's deputies, and soviet of people's deputies executive committee chairmen.

Your IZVESTIYA correspondent met with V. Trushin, USSR deputy minister of internal affairs:

[Reshetnikov] Vladimir Petrovich, only a few years ago such an address from the head of government would have been followed by a toughening of criminal policy. But the times of "turning the screws" have gone. Is there an alternative today to this once universal method of introducing order?

[Trushin] Of course, no one intends to retreat from the course which has been adopted toward the humanization of criminal policy and legal practice. The principle of a differentiated approach toward each person who has broken the law is laid at the foundation of the draft of the new criminal legislation. The USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] has elaborated a specific program of struggle against crime. The president's address obliges us to take another look to see whether forces are correctly distributed.

There is one alternative to the "screw turning"—making the internal affairs organs the guarantors of the conservation of legality and law and order. This, alas, is a problem not only for our internal organization. Work must be built by proceeding from what exists. Much is now being said about the inadequate provision of cadres, the poor standard of material backup and technical equipping of the militia. To this should also be added the fact that so-called "equipment norms" according to which the militia is supplied with motor transport and means of communication and protective equipment became obsolete long ago. Within the framework of conversion many enterprises have developed equipment which could substantially increase the efficiency of our work. Unique models of criminalistics and protective equipment have been created. But today there is nothing with which to buy this equipment.

Even our most minimal requirements for criminalistics equipment are eight times greater than what we have now. And three times greater for computer hardware. Twice as great for motor transport. And so on. The government understands our difficulties. This year it earmarked an additional 600 million rubles for the militia's maintenance. We have succeeded in increasing our staffers' wages 19-24 percent. But why should our problems be a heavy burden solely for the state budget? Funds for assisting the militia have now been created. Using money presented by enterprises and collective and state farms we have succeeded in increasing the detachment of precinct militiamen by 25,000. But the funds are nonetheless being increased only extremely slowly. Perhaps only Russia and the Ukraine are actively helping us. The president's address was directed at soviets of all levels. It is primarily from them that the internal affairs organs expect help.

We should also note the fact that recently there has been a drastic reduction in the public's participation in the protection of law and order. If the population's activeness continues to decline, bad times could come for the militia. Perhaps the only assistance here is the workers detachments for assisting the militia, which now number 17,000 men.

[Reshetnikov] How will the Union Ministry of Internal Affairs now share the functions of guarding law and order with the republican ministries?

[Trushin] That will depend on what the Union treaty is like. Ultimately it is a question of the future financing of the internal affairs organs. We believe that coordination functions and the tasks of supplying the militia and struggling against organized crime should remain with the Union ministry. If only because the republics simply cannot cope on their own with many tasks. That has been graphically shown by events of recent years. "Hot spots" arise now in one republic, now in another. And sometimes only outside aid makes it possible to stabilize the situation.

Unfortunately many organs of power locally have now decided not to send staffers of the national internal affairs organs to other regions. This is an extremely negative element which could result and indeed is already resulting in bitter consequences. That is why I should like to urge the leadership of the republics not to sit tight in their national compartments. We can introduce order only by pooled efforts. Otherwise its price will be excessively high.

Economist Bunich on Problems of Socialism

LD1909194190 Moscow in English to Africa
1700 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Excerpts] The USSR Supreme Soviet continues debating various concepts of transition to a market economy in the country. The deputies are inclined to support the complex radical program based on the project worked out by a group of experts headed by a member of the Presidential Council, Academician Shatalin. [passage omitted]

The opponents of the program insist that that will lead to the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. Don't be afraid of that, the capitalism that the Marxist classics wrote about is nonexistent anymore, believes the noted economist and a deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Pavel Bunich. Here is what he said in an interview to our correspondent:

[Begin recording] [Bunich, in Russian with superimposed English translation] Western countries, the most advanced ones, have long stopped being capitalist. The term our political economy is dubbing them with does not correspond to reality. Naturally there are some in those countries who hire manpower and some who work for hire. (?However, hire) and exploitation are notions that do not coincide. They can coincide though, but the working class in the advanced countries has become so powerful that it can put up resistance to the employers no less than a strong super trade union. The employers don't exploit it. The employer is compelled to hire workforce to ensure his justly high profit. The employer receives his justly high profit and the workers receive as much as they have earned. And both are paying taxes. This is by no means exploitation. Now, what kind of society have they built? A society with elements of socialism, because the essence of socialism is the absence of exploitation. And what kind of society have we built? A society with great exploitation of some other kind, that is, with the exploitation of the proletariat by the state.

[Reporter] In this case, in what direction are the so-called capitalist society and our socialist society moving?

[Bunich, in Russian with superimposed English translation] To convergence, Pavel Bunich believes. Not to convergence between Stalinism and the capitalism of Marx, but to the convergence when the final goal of both societies is a society without any exploitation. People started with that back at the time of the primeval state, and people will return to it again, but at a much higher level of development. And, it is anybody's guess who will be the first. So far they are ahead of us in having a society without any exploitation, that is socialism. We are moving towards that society too. We are moving towards a society dominated by common human values. The final goal should be the same for both. But, for the time being they are nearer to it than we are. [end recording]

Politburo's Semenova at Press Exhibition

PM1909140390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
16 Sep 90 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report under the rubric "Official": "Meeting with Readers"]

[Text] The exhibition "In the Pages of Popular Publications" has opened in the "Soviet Culture" Pavilion at the USSR National Economic Achievements Exhibition under the auspices of the Soviet-U.S. "Cultural Initiative" Foundation. A meeting with readers of the journal IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS and the weekly GLASNOST was held at the exhibition 15 September, in which G.V. Semenova, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, participated.

Resolution Issued on Rescinding Party Penalties

PM1909115990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 Sep 90 Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee Politburo and CPSU Central Control Commission Presidium resolution dated 13 September 1990: "On the Procedure for Examining Communists' Applications for the Removal of Party Penalties Imposed by the Former CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee"]

[Text] In connection with the abolition of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee and proceeding from the provisions of the new CPSU Statutes on extending the independence and rights of primary party organizations and party committees, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the CPSU Central Control Commission Presidium resolve:

1. It is to be laid down that party members' applications for the removal of penalties imposed by the former CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee are examined by primary party organizations. A positive decision adopted by a primary party organization on a Communist's application is final.

In cases where the said penalties were entered in a CPSU member's record card by gorkoms [city party committees], raykoms [rayon party committees], and primary party organizations' party committees with raykom rights, the necessary entry is made in the Communists' party documents with a reference to the primary party organization's corresponding resolution.

2. Records of a break in party service established by the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee are removed from CPSU members' party documents by resolutions of raykom and gorkom bureaus or the control commission presidiums of the corresponding party organizations following a petition from primary party organizations. Resolutions adopted by them on the removal

of a break in party service are final and serve as grounds for CPSU members to have their party documents replaced.

3. CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee decisions on expulsion from the party may be revised following petitions from primary party organizations by oblast and kray party committee bureaus, union republic Communist Party Central Committees, or presidiums of the corresponding control commissions. Decisions adopted by them on reinstatement in the party are final, while refusals are sent for examination to the CPSU Central Control Commission.

4. Questions of the removal of penalties and the revision of decisions to institute party proceedings adopted by the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee and based on materials of its own checks are to be examined by the CPSU Central Control Commission.

Commission Proposes German Ethnic Congress

LD1909205190 Moscow TASS International Service in German 1450 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow, 19 Sep (TASS)—At a regular sitting, the state commission examined preparations for a congress of Soviet Germans.

G. Vormsbekher, deputy chairman of the organizing committee, reported on this question.

The working group prepared proposals on electing delegates to the congress, planning the work of the organizing committee, and drafting documents for discussion at its next sitting. The organizing committee and the mass media have been asked to report regularly on the tasks of the congress of Soviet Germans and its practical preparation.

Proposals from the USSR State Committee for the Press and the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting for expanding the production of books and periodicals, television, and radio broadcasts in German have been discussed. Although there has been some increase in the volume of textbooks and fiction, newspapers and magazines, and broadcasts, the quantity and quality of these are still insufficient for teaching in the mother tongue and for developing the culture of Soviet Germans.

Information was heard from USSR deputy justice minister M. Vyshinskiy about proposals forwarded to the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers on revoking legislative and normative acts on people that have been resettled by force and on ensuring their rights. In accordance with the 14 November 1989 USSR Supreme Soviet declaration on this question and the instructions of the State Commission for Restoring the Rights of Soviet Germans, it is proposed that 27 normative acts of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the USSR state Committee for Defense and the USSR Government on resettling Soviet Germans from the Volga region and other regions of the country, on mobilizing the German population into workers' columns, and other issues from the period 1941-1955 should be deemed invalid.

New Labor Party Cofounder Interviewed

PM1309102790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Sep 90 First Edition p 4

[Unattributed interview with A. Bylinskiy, member of the Labor Party of the Soviet Union Organizational Central Committee under the "Who's Who" rubric: "Labor Party"—first paragraph is an editorial introduction]

[Text] If there is one area where we have no shortage, it is in newly formed parties. And, presumably, for the time being their number will continue rising. For example, another party with the epithet "socialist" was to have been organized. Now however it is going to be the Labor Party of the Soviet Union. In the opinion of A. Bylinskiy, member of its Organizational Central Committee, the change is due to a "dissociation from the movement which calls itself socialist."

"While professing the ideals of Marxism-Leninism, like the CPSU," Aleksey Georgiyevich believes, "the Labor Party has its own principled positions. The phenomena of the ingrained bureaucracy of the party and state apparatus are now 'preparing the ground' for a repudiation of the planned management of the economy and for the development of market socialism. It is clear where such an economy is leading: the lowering of working people's living standards, unemployment, and inflation. We oppose those dangers.

"In the political sphere measures to eliminate the socialist way of life are now being extolled. A question from the past which the socialist Bebel [cofounder and early leader of German social democratic movement and Second International] asked now springs to mind: Where did you go wrong, poor Bebel, if reaction is praising you? We aim to answer that question.

"Our party has action groups operating in Moscow, Penza, Odessa, Kiev, Lvov, Minsk, and Novosibirsk. Recruitment began officially on 1 September. But even before that we had approximately 800 supporters. I stress: This is in conditions of no recruitment and with a minimum of information about the party. According to forecasts, by the beginning of next year the party will have 2,000-3,000 people. Then we will hold our constituent congress. In another year the Labor Party of the Soviet Union could have up to 100,000 members.

[Question] What are the grounds for such optimism?

[Bylinskiy] That forecast is justified by a whole series of factors. In particular, the permanent attractiveness of Marxism-Leninism. We should also add that, compared with other parties, we have a more powerful group of ideologists, some of whom traditionally feature among the special advisers of the leaders of our state in the postwar period, (the interviewee declined to name specific people—KRASNAYA ZVEZDA editor's note). We are expecting a massive influx of hardworking members from the CPSU. In addition, we plan to have a very wide age limit: People can join the party from the age of 16. The way is open to believers, too.

[Question] I would like to know if you have supporters in the Union parliament?

[Bylinskiy] We do not go in for such systematization because we consider the very concept of "parliament" a temporary one. Among its first political steps the Labor Party of the Soviet Union will demand that the USSR Supreme Soviet dissolve itself on the grounds that it is unconstitutional in composition. We include representatives of social organizations in that.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA editorial note] A.G. Bylinskiy was born in 1937 and has higher education. He heads the "Samanta" scientific and technical cooperative in Gomel Oblast. He is a member of the Central Committee Presidium of the trade union of workers of scientific-technical and scientific-production cooperatives, enterprises, and organizations of the USSR.

He joined the CPSU in 1959 while serving in the army. In 1974 he resigned from the Communist Party, as he himself says, "for reasons of principle, but retaining party card and the party's ideas."

[Question] One last question. What is the Labor Party of the Soviet Union's view of the state's military policy going to be?

[Bylinskiy] The Labor Party regards and will continue to regard the army and the KGB as the fundamental force for the protection of the interests of socialism. We oppose the depoliticization of the Armed Forces.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA editorial footnote] Recently KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has familiarized its readers with the different parties that are being created—from the so-called left-wing radicals to the highly orthodox—and with their military programs. All the new party leaders are highly optimistic, but with rare exceptions there is no evidence of a broad influx of people into these organizations at the moment, in the experts' opinion. Why? The editorial office will endeavor to answer that question in a number of subsequent publications.

Oversight Committee News Conference Reported

PM1909145390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by A. Stepovoy: "Constitutional Committee Makes Decisions"]

[Text] A press conference was held in Moscow 14 September for Soviet and foreign journalists which was attended by members of the Constitutional Oversight Committee. Its chairman, S. Alekseyev, made a statement for the press immediately after the end of the session's work. It contained three main points.

First of all the committee members are alarmed by the state of legislation in our country and the republics since processes have arisen which do not fully accord with the ideals and trends for the consolidation of the rule-of-law state. Unfortunately, S. Alekseyev stressed, by a decision of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies we have been deprived of the opportunity to examine the laws and constitutions of the Union republics. This range of questions has now been excluded from our committee's competence. The chairman noted that the Constitutional Oversight Committee's activity in this field has been paralyzed. But this does not deprive us of the civil right to voice our concern with regard to the fact that some acts in the Union republics are being undertaken without a consideration for all-Union legislation, the Constitution, and general legal principles.

S. Alekseyev suggested that if this process goes any further even more destructive phenomena will emerge which could lead to the collapse of the state. That is why he appeals to his colleagues from the republics to display great responsibility here and a greater understanding of the situation. Perhaps it would be appropriate for the federation Soviet to decide on a moratorium for some period with regard to legislative acts which are now being strenuously adopted in all parts of the country.

As far as it can, S. Alekseyev assured those present, the Constitutional Oversight Committee will seek to implement democratic fundamentals and the principles of the democratic state and humanism.

Finally it was announced that the Constitutional Oversight Committee asserts itself as a depoliticized organ.

Journalists were able to familiarize themselves with the Constitutional Oversight Committee decisions and conclusions which have just been taken. Some legislative acts have been deemed not to comply with the USSR Constitution or the norms of international law. They concerned questions of registration and individual norms of criminal and criminal procedure legislation and the USSR president's Decree on regulating the holding of mass events on the territory of Moscow inside the Sadovoye koltso beltway.

Editor Comments on Writers' Union Relations

LD1609215490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 16 Sep 90

[Interview with Fedor Mikhailovich Burlatskiy, editor in chief of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, by Vladislav Flyarkovskiy in the periodical's offices on date not given; from the "Vremya" newscast—live or recorded]

[Text] [Flyarkovskiy] We have come here to LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in order to congratulate its collective and its editor in chief on the fact that they are now also founded totally in accordance with the law. But it has become clear that the dispute which has continued for quite a long time between the USSR Writers' Union and the editorial board of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA might be prolonged even further, although the evidence is already in hand, because the Writers' Union asserts that even the armchair in which Fedor Mikhailovich is sitting remains its property. What is this, a misunderstanding? If not, if this is all in accordance with the law, then what arguments will be heard in the future?

[Burlatskiy] It is a matter of principle at the moment. It is a matter of whether we will really be able to become a free platform for writers.

[Flyarkovskiy] In general, it is probably a matter of the country's movement toward the principle of a free press?

[Burlatskiy] Undoubtedly, because, well, it must be admitted that over many decades LITERATURNAYA GAZETA had to follow in the wake of the decisions by the working secretariat of the Writers' Union. They persecuted and censured Pasternak, Solzhenitsyn, Okudzhava, Voynovich, and so on, and this had to be expressed in some way or other on the pages of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. We are acquiring an opportunity to take up our own progressive, democratic, liberal position, supported by the opinion of the whole writing public. I should say that fears that LITERATURNAYA GAZETA will move away from the writer are totally unfounded. On the contrary. It will cease to be the organ of some apparatus and will become the voice of the writing public.

[Flyarkovskiy] That means that the founder of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA is now the workers' collective of this editorial board, and if anyone should begin to dispute this, then you will probably have arguments?

[Burlatskiy] Yes. Well, there is a second question, incidentally, which is not related to this. It is the question of ownership.

[Flyarkovskiy] I'm leading to that.

[Burlatskiy] Yes, this question is being put now and it is a question that has to be discussed. During all the years of our relations, as far as I know—we have now brought out the documents—the Writers' Union has only once allocated us one million in old money. But in the last few years alone we have paid the Writers' Union more than 50 million rubles.

[Flyarkovskiy] I understand that you have strengthened your rear, Fedor Mikhailovich.

[Burlatskiy] I believe that we have a fairly strong opposition. Incidentally, we wish to cooperate with the Writers' Union of the USSR and with the republican writers' unions and with the literary fund, and we will of course continue to help writers, especially elderly writers, and we will help young writers, we will also help to maintain vacation homes and the writers' polyclinic. There are no problems here. There is the problem of the working secretariat of the Writers' Union reconciling itself to the new conditions of the paper's existence, and in my opinion, of our whole press.

MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI's Future Viewed

PM1709131590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Interview with Yegor Yakovlev, chief editor of MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, by Vl. Arsenyev: "MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in a New Decade"—first three paragraphs are an editorial introduction]

[Text] Having recently received confirmation of registration, the weekly MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI [MN] has announced from its pages that henceforth "MN" is an independent people's paper.

The address to readers from the "MN" society's inaugurators states: "We want MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI to become a newspaper of constructive dialogue open to all viewpoints promoting the search for the truth." The "people's newspaper" concept is a new one in itself. And for "MN's" numerous readers the main news is that it is now possible to subscribe freely to the newspaper's Russian edition.

Yegor Yakovlev, the chief editor of MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, is speaking:

[Yakovlev] The editorial collective will continue to be guided by what are for it the three main concepts—conscience, common sense, and readers' needs. Of course, times today are different from what they were four years ago when we decided that there are not and cannot be any banned topics. Now this attitude toward life is something many newspapers have. Yes, we are glad to have been registered, glad that the publication has become independent, untrammeled by any party bias. For instance, I have been in journalism for 35 years and I thought I would not live to see the Law on the Press which Lenin promised immediately after the revolution. We are also glad that subscription to the newspaper's Russian edition has been opened. You must agree that it was absurd to know that there was a newspaper which had to be acquired by fair means or foul.

Much is receding into the past. But life has not become better. There is, unfortunately, plenty of intolerance and hostility. Not only among retrogrades but also among those who believe they are serving democracy. We want to show how conflicts can be resolved. In all spheres of life, be it the economy or politics. We want to assert man's rights and merits. We want to assist the resurrection of a free, flourishing, civilized state. And if we succeed in this the newspaper will become a newspaper of democratic consensus, democratic understanding, which is what we hope for.

[Arsenyev] It is symbolic that the newspaper's renewal has coincided with a new decade for you. MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI is 60 years old in October...

[Yakovlev] Yes, so it is.

[Arsenyev] Do you know your reader?

[Yakovlev] When I was asked quite recently about that I replied: Our reader is someone who gets up early. He was at the kiosks at 0600 hours, when the newspapers were delivered. Just 350,000 copies in Russian were delivered to Soviet readers. Now, of course, it will be possible to form a more precise judgment of readers. Essentially subscription is the first indication of our popularity. The results so far are gratifying. But unless the number of subscribers is very great we will have to suspend subscription. Under the new economic conditions, since leaving APN, we have had numerous problems connected, among other things, with paper.

[Arsenyev] How do you intend to cope with the difficulties? They will become not fewer but more numerous with the transition to a market economy...

[Yakovlev] Yes, so far we are in the position of a sparrow on a twig—we have nothing. We are liaising with printing houses. We want to switch the newspaper to a joint-stock basis and issue shares worth 25 million rubles. Some Western businessmen are prepared to buy them, although they will receive dividends only in rubles. We will ultimately create an "MN" firm: We are having talks with the French on the creation of our own radio station and with the Moscow City Soviet on an international information center for "MN" and a small book publishing house. Those are the plans. We hope we do not fail.

[Arsenyev] On 18 September I heard that the first Russian-language issue of the magazine PARIS MATCH will be presented. I was told that it is a supplement to MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI.

[Yakovlev] All that is true. The first issue contains an interview with USSR President M. Gorbachev, which he gave to PARIS MATCH at our request. The presentation will be attended by the French minister of culture and eminent politicians, artists, and writers. Over the course of the year we want to produce 12 of these supplements—not only of PARIS MATCH. For instance, we want to show the Italian LA REPUBBLICA and the Spanish EL PAIS. In the 60 years of its existence the newspaper has been building an East-West bridge as best it could. On a one-way basis, it is true. Now this bridge could quite well become a two-way one.

New Weekly Newspaper Published in Moscow

LD2009092390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Summary] A new newspaper, KURANTY [THE CHIMES] has been published in Moscow today. The issue opens with an interview with Moscow Soviet Chairman Popov. At a meeting with the collective of the editorial office the capital's mayor said that the paper is close to the Moscow Soviet, but it should be independent.

Editor in chief of KURANTY, Pankov, replied that total independence was impossible: "It is a matter of becoming a non-party newspaper, a tribune for broad democratic forces. The paper will interpret the activity of soviets critically, campaign for the provision of normal living conditions for Muscovites, and discuss problems of the transition to a market and the implementation of effective social programs."

KURANTY is at present a weekly but from the beginning of next year it will become a daily. It is intended to establish direct links with newspapers in other cities, exchange information with them, and, in time, to become a unionwide paper.

Paper's Chief Editor on Freedom of Press

LD1809185390

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1500 GMT on 18 September carries a six-minute report on the first meeting of the labor collective of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, which was held "today." Correspondent Sergey Omelchenko interviews the paper's editor in chief, Fedor Mikhaylovich Burlatskiy. Omelchenko says that the latest number of the paper, out tomorrow, will be different from previous ones in that it will bear the heading "Writers' Free Tribune" and the words "LITERATURNAYA GAZETA—founder of the labor collective of the editorial office of the paper." He asks the reason for this. Burlatskiy says that they want to make a paper reflecting their own views, and not those of the apparatus of the USSR Union of Writers.

"For many decades," Burlatskiy adds, "the paper blindly repeated everything that came out of the organizational decisions of the secretariat. Of course, it can be said that the secretariat acted according to the instructions, but it was a convenient instrument for that."

The second reason was financial, Burlatskiy continues. "Economic liberty is the basis of the acivity of every labor collective," he explains. Asked what decisions were made by the meeting of the labor collective, he says that it ratified the regulations of the labor collective, which enabled it to define itself as an enterprise, to register in the rayon soviet, and for the first time obtain the rights of a juridicially defined person.

The second decision, Burlatskiy says, was to unanimously elect him editor in chief. "Now the task is to run the paper to a significant degree in a new way," he says, from the point of view of content, adding that a joint stock company would gradually be organized. Rumors that the paper was going to damage writers' interests were completely unfounded, he says.

While maintaining the liberal, progressive views of the intelligentsia from Pushkin on, the paper would not have prejudices, Burlatskiy says. Today the paper publishes an article by Solzhenitsyn: "How Are We To Organize Russia?" (Kak nam obustroit Russiyu?), Burlatskiy says, adding that Rasputin, Adamovich, and many other writers would also be published.

Burlatskiy concludes that elder writers would be helped, and that a special fund would be set up to help young writers, along with a prize fund. Everything would be done to make relations with the Union of Writers friendly, he says; he is sure that present passions will burn out and that they will work together with the USSR Writers' Union and republican writers' unions for the cause of literature.

Newspaper May Offer Shares to Subscribers

PM1909085590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Sep 90 Second Edition p 3

[Report by A. Savelyev: "Newspaper's Shares Going Up?"]

[Text] Yesterday MEDITSINSKAYA GAZETA subscribers received an experimental issue of their publication. The newspaper, as always, is targeted at the medical profession.

The editorial office collective has chosen a share-based form of management. It is not ruled out that in the near future those wishing to become joint owners of the newspaper will be able to acquire shares in it.

Need for Nuclear Power Role Emphasized

PM1909143590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0915 GMT 15 Sep 90

[From the Central TV series: "Future Options]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Reporter] You are looking at a top-secret plant—the nuclear waste storage facility and reprocessing plant near Krasnoyarsk. This is the first time it has been filmed. At the launching stage the veil of secrecy surrounding the installation was suddenly lifted under the pressure of perestroyka, and the public—above all, those with Green views—demanded that the entire complex be mothballed [zamorozit]. For ecological reasons.

[Worker] The processed assemblies are stored at a depth of eight meters and under three meters of water. There is obviously background radiation above the water surface. But it does not exceed... As you can see, we are clean here in radiation terms.

[Reporter] Around 200 million was spent on building the plant, and a sizable amount of nuclear waste has been brought to the storage facility from the country's nuclear stations. It was planned that when the plant was commissioned the waste would be taken from its underwater storage and reprocessed. But what will happen now? Where will these dragon's teeth go? And there are many such conflicts. [passage omitted]

[Vasilkov] Without nuclear power we will never be able to solve the complex ecological problems to be found in a large number of our cities—there are some 50 of them. Gorkiy is one of these cities. In this region where we are situated a number of components already exceed the maximum permissible health limits for atmospheric pollution. Nuclear power produces no discharges. This station will produce no discharges. The problem is the following—and it is a major problem. Can this source be made virtually 100-percent safe? That is the question. How have we ensured guaranteed safety here? It was programmed into the project from the very beginning. The foremost, central issue, beside which all other issues were secondary, was to ensure the safety of this power source in practice. How did we resolve these issues? Through building an internal self-protection system into the reactor. That is to say that the reactor has been designed in such a way that if the parameters veer in an impermissible direction, then it itself stifles these processes without an operator having to intervene. That is the first point. Second, an entire system of barriers has been localized here. Look, this is the actual reactor. The reactor shell is located in another shell for insurance, so to speak. The third point is that we agreed from the very beginning that we must not assume that no mistakes will be made during operations. Things do go wrong, and we took that into account. We planned the systems in such a way that if an operator makes the most blatant error and certain pieces of equipment break down simultaneously, and so forth, the reactor may not be able to function under those circumstances, but there will no discharges into the environment. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] This [fusion] is the most promising form of power generation. Here is Academician Kadomtsev.

[Kadomtsev] We are using this installation to master plasma as a working substance for a future fusion reactor. We've spent several years working on it. And subsequently, at the turn of the century, we may be able to build an experimental fusion reactor. This will work for a few years and then—somewhere between 2010 and 2015—the first fusion power station may be up and running. The next stage, after 2015, will be very expensive. This is why, in order to save money, we have decided to make use of international cooperation. Our country has proposed setting up an international project. It is currently developing successfully. It is called "ITR" [as heard]. And, if realized, an experimental fusion reactor will be developed around the turn of the century. [passage omitted]

Economic

Gorbachev Discusses Economic Plan With Attali

LD1909140890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1335 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow, 19 Sep (TASS)—In the Kremlin today Mikhail Gorbachev received Jacques Attali, president of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development [EBRD].

During the conversation issues were discussed relating to the role and significance of the EBRD in the development of economic cooperation among the European countries. It was noted that the USSR's participation as a full member of this international bank opened up qualitatively new opportunities for a mutually beneficial partnership, the implementation of joint projects, and the attraction of foreign investment into the Soviet Union's national economy. The guest stressed that the program for the country's transition to a market, presently being discussed in the USSR Supreme Soviet and in the Union republic supreme soviets, is arousing great interest in Western business circles as well as with experts of international economic organizations. M.S. Gorbachev explained in detail the basic features of the draft program and of the mechanisms to implement it in the context of the actual socioeconomic situation in the country.

RSFSR Prime Minister on Soviet Economy

PM2009083090 London ITV Television Network in English 1800 GMT 15 Sep 90

[Interview with Deputy Prime Minister of the Russian Federation, Grigoriy Yavlinskiy in Moscow, and American businessman William Simons in London by correspondent Sheena McDonald in London, during a report on the Soviet economy—live]

[Text]

[McDonald] Mr. Gorbachev has slightly adjusted the plan which you were party to putting together, now the Supreme Soviet must decide which plan it's going to support. What will it support, the Shatalin plan or Gorbachev's adjusted Shatalin plan?

[Yavlinskiy] Is the question to me?

[McDonald] The question is to you, yes.

[Yavlinskiy] Oh, thank you. Two days ago, Russian Parliament adopted Shatalin's plan and yesterday it was a hard discussion in the commission and committees of Supreme Soviet of the USSR. And I think the atmosphere in the United... in the Soviet Union, all-Union parliament is quite good for Shatalin's plan.

[McDonald] Mr. Gorbachev felt that aspects of it were too radical—that a decentralization of monetary and foreign exchange policy, for instance, would be too destabilizing.

[Yavlinskiy] Mr. Gorbachev said that from his point of view, Shatalin's plan is not so radical as one can think. But from his point of view, it's necessary to make more and more of a, of a force on stabilizing part of that plan.

[McDonald] Is he not right? Are there not aspects of that plan which are too radical?

[Yavlinskiy] It's rather hard question because it's not clear what is radical and what is not radical in the situation which we have now.

[McDonald] Prime Minister Ryzhkov, the Soviet Prime Minister has also been very critical of the plan, obviously because he has his own plan—but he's suggested that it could trigger off social unrest, unemployment on a very large scale, and the standard of living could drop, he suggests, by 30 percent. Is this not a real fear?

[Yavlinskiy] I think that that idea is not real, because we were analyzing that plan in the Russian Parliament and in our special Shatalin's group and our result was not so severe as the ideas of Mr. Ryzhkov.

[McDonald] Let me bring in William Simons, who's just returned from a tour of the Soviet Union, where he's a regular visitor assessing the opportunities for Western businesses, a specialist on Soviet law, and a member of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. Mr. Yavlinskiy seems confident the Supreme Soviet will do what the Russian Parliament did and back the Shatalin plan, which he coauthored—is that the right thing to do?

[Simons] Well I think that it is, but I think part of the problem is the plan really doesn't go far enough. Or fast enough. And it only addresses in part the economic issue. There are portions of the plan which address the bigger political issue, as well as foreign investment in the USSR, which of course is part of the puzzle—foreign investment has to be brought into the USSR to help the Soviet Union change its economic system, since without foreign investment the Soviet Union simply can't afford, and can't pay for these changes.

[McDonald] Mr. Yavlinskiy, Mr. Simons thinks you've not done enough to encourage Western investment in your plan.

[Yavlinskiy] In our plan, there's a special place for Western investment, but it's not the first point of the plan. The first point of the plan is privatization and the cutting of budget deficit to make a strong ruble—that is the main two points.

[McDonald interrupts] So it's a two-step plan, Mr. Simons.

[Simons] Well, that's right. And it also contains the kernel of the legal system, which needs also to be improved and adjusted to take account of the domestic changes, as well as the international changes. The Soviet legal system really needs to be improved, so that indeed this plan for the privatization of the USSR can go ahead on a stable foundation, where both Soviet citizens and Western citizens who invest can have a certain degree of expectation and certainty after the future.

[McDonald] If you don't make these changes Mr. Yavlinskiy, the West may be reluctant to invest.

[Yavlinskiy] Yes, if it is clear, I am not correct with the... what you're saying to me now because... please be louder.

But I want to say that the first steps of the plan, the first half a year will make all the oppositions for the Western investors and our domestic investors, but from my point of view, it's very important things—in six or five months we will have to fulfil more important tasks. Now to make first steps in stabilization, financial stabilization and to start the privatization of the property in the Russian Federation...

[McDonald interrupts] William Simons...

[Yavlinskiy continues] ...We have to start the process.

[McDonald] William Simons, the plan fails, there could be a military coup, do you subscribe at all to that view?

[Simons] I do. I think the chance is there, that if the reforms don't go far enough, fast enough—and the results aren't seen at the level of individual Soviet citizens, be it domestic change or a change involving Western investment—that indeed there's a chance for either a military seizure of power on one hand or gravitation around a nationalist leader on the other hand.

[McDonald] Such as? I mean you've been to the Soviet Union many times, do you see signs of this? Can you name names?

[Simons] Well, I think there are some signs to be seen—in the very right-wing nationalistic activities, which manifests itself, unfortunately, in some distasteful anti-Semitic elements of political dogmatism.

[McDonald] Mr. Yavlinskiy, I hope you heard that. Do you realize this fear, yourself?

[Yavlinskiy] Please be louder, I can't hear you.

[McDonald] Mr. Simons sees a very real risk of a military takeover, or popular unrest, focusing on extreme right-wing nationalist leaders if this plan doesn't work.

[Yavlinskiy] No, that questions are not included in the ideas of that economic reform. I think that the attitude to a new Russian government, in all circles of society is the rating... and the rating of the new Russian government is quite high and that point is very important to stabilize the situation in the country in general, and in the Russian Federation especially.

[McDonald] In the few seconds we have left, William Simons, you presumably want the Soviet economy to succeed—what one main piece of advice would you give?

[Simons] I would think that the Soviets need to focus on the salesmanship that they've been doing of this program, for their own citizens as well as to the West—and they have very good salesmen in the form of Yeltsin, Popov, the mayor of Moscow, and Sobchak, the mayor of Leningrad.

Abalkin Defends Government Reform Program

904A0599B Moscow TRUD in Russian
15 Sep 90 p 2

[Report on interview with Academician L.I. Abalkin by Yu. Ursov under the rubric "Two Programs, Two Approaches to the Market"; place and date not given: "Who Will Pay for Illusion?"]

[Text] [The following paragraph appears in a box under the rubric at the top of the article]

The two programs for the transition to the market, devised by a group led by Academician S.S. Shatalin and by the government, have a number of serious fundamental differences. Is this a source of disagreement? This is the subject of interviews we publish today, in which the arguments are put forward by the two sides; which in our opinion will enable the reader (giving due consideration to pieces previously published) to gain a clear idea of these complicated economic problems.

[Ursov] Leonid Ivanovich, please tell us briefly about the contradictions between the government program and the concept of S. Shatalin's group.

[Abalkin] The government program proposes a moderate-to-radical version of the transition to the market, and its basis was worked out last December and was approved by the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies. And it was then that debate on the government program took place for the first time, and an open roll-call vote gave unconditional support to the USSR Council of Ministers, and correspondingly to its program. We should not forget that. The program devised by the group led by Academician Shatalin proposed a forced version for the transition to the market, called the "shock" version.

The differences stemming from these different approaches are now derivative or secondary in nature with respect to the models. I believe that the version proposed by the government is more realistic and it also takes into account the depth of the economic crisis and the impossibility of improving finances without serious attacks on the social gains of the workers. It also takes into account the real readiness, or more accurately, the lack of readiness of broad strata of the population to work under market conditions. I would like particularly to emphasize that behind the discussion on the programs, concepts, and versions we must always see the reality of life.

The government proceeds from the premise that it is essential to rely on existing laws and decisions and, based on this, to maintain stability in relations so that the movement of "blood through the arteries" of the national economy is not stopped. It is impossible to cancel out everything that has been done and to try to effect reform ab initio, as it were. This is dangerous and impermissible because it can lead to disintegration and chaos in the national economy.

Those who drew up the programs differ significantly in their views on the very arrangement of the USSR. We favor radical renewal of the federation and broad independence and sovereignty for the Union and autonomous republics. But here we see the USSR as a renewed federation with all the attributes of a sovereign state.

Although often in veiled form, the program of the working group is virtually rejecting the preservation of a union with the status of a state. It is rather an international agreement concluded between sovereign states. Adoption of these kinds of proposals will not only alter the historically formed national-state structure of the USSR but also change the system of the balance of forces created in the world. I suggest that it is impermissible to adopt this kind of decision without extensive debate and without a national referendum. It is also impermissible to camouflage such proposals... We also need choice here, which should be made not in offices and in the corridors of the Supreme Soviet, but openly and publicly.

Both programs devote much space to social programs and various steps to provide social safeguards for the public. The government program relies on a number of laws already passed. I have in mind the decisions on introducing a new pension law and programs to provide assistance for mothers and children. An important place is given over to the introduction from the beginning of next year of new purchase prices for agricultural products, the associated financial resources switched to provide social support for the countryside, and the realization of corresponding programs to provide assistance for the countryside.

In contrast to this, in the program of the working group there is either silence on these matters, which provides grounds for doubts about the desires of its authors to fully realize the plan that has been outlined, or it is proposed that measures already outlined be abandoned.

In the government program provision has been made for safeguards in other spheres also: safeguards for citizens' savings from their labor in the form of contributions to saving banks, insurance policies, and other forms of organized saving. We have been particularly careful in working on measures that would make it possible to prevent unemployment on any massive scale. Lack of clarity and definition in the positions of the working group make it impossible to provide any unambiguous answer to the question of whether they will permit any significant decline in the living standard and restrain unemployment.

The problem of prices cannot be divorced from the entire aggregate of the proposed measures. The government program was drawn up long ago and it is underpinned by the necessary foundation, including with the help of laws that have been passed. All of this makes it possible to introduce an entire package of new approaches simultaneously, and to regulate the market.

Taking into account the real situation in the economy, we are proposing that state control or price regulation be maintained for a significant group of consumer goods, and also state regulation of wholesale and purchase prices.

The program of the working group led by Academician Shatalin favors more radical changes in pricing. It proceeds from the premise that the financial situation will be stabilized in a short time and thus any sharp price increases will be avoided. If we talk on a purely theoretical plane, when this problem is discussed in the offices of scientific institutions this version is worthy of attention. But if we leave the offices of the scientific institutions and go out into real life, then we find that things are not quite so simple. First of all there are doubts about the realistic nature of measures planned for financial improvement. It seems to me that the people who drew up the program have not listened adequately to the counter arguments that were put forth when the program was being debated. The hints dropped on the harsher measures are creating the impression that they hide proposals that the authors preferred not to mention beforehand. Of course, once again these measures do exist theoretically. It is possible to "freeze" wages and "freeze" money savings, and to move to financial withdrawal of part of these incomes. And on the models this always results in improvement, but will it have the support of public opinion?

[Ursov] The debate in the USSR Supreme Soviet session on the drafts for the switch to the market raised many questions....

[Abalkin] In fact the start of the debate on the programs is eliciting much bewilderment. The negative assessments of the government program and the much-praised conclusion on the program drawn up by the working group started to be seen before the work had even been completed. And those who expressed their assessments had read neither programs. It is obvious that what lies behind this is not so much in-depth analysis by experts and a sober comparison of the versions, but rather a desire to impose one decision or the other.

Today it is possible to extricate the country from crisis only by achieving a public consensus and mass support for one of the programs, and confidence in those who are called upon to implement it. Without this any program will be doomed, and along with them our position is also doomed to further deterioration. We must set our political or scientific ambitions higher, reach some agreement, and unite to bring the country not only out of this present crisis but also out of the grave situation in which it may find itself. But as we move toward an agreement we must clearly define the price that the people are prepared to pay for this agreement.

Shatalin Defends Economic Reform Program

90A0599A Moscow TRUD in Russian 15 Sep 90 p 2

[Report on interview with Academician S.S. Shatalin by V. Golovachev under the rubric "Two Programs, Two Approaches to the Market"; place and date not given: "Make the Poor Rich"]

[Text] [The following paragraph appears in a box under the rubric at the top of the article]

The two programs for the transition to the market, devised by a group led by Academician S.S. Shatalin and by the government, have a number of serious fundamental differences. Is this a source of disagreement? This is the subject of interviews we publish today, in which the arguments are put forward by the two sides; which in our opinion will enable the reader (giving due consideration to pieces published previously) to gain a clearer idea of these complicated economic problems.

[Golovachev] Stanislav Sergeyevich, can you briefly give us an idea of the main differences between your program and the government program?

[Shatalin] First of all they are in the principles for the state's structure, in pricing policy and financial-and-credit policy, and with respect to the various forms of ownership.

[Golovachev] On the first point—the principles for the state's structure—these, as we know, have generated heated argument. Opponents say that the Shatalin program will lead to the disintegration of the state, of the Soviet Union, which has been created by many people over the generations. For, according to opponents, the program itself is based on principles which preclude the Soviet Union's existence as a unified state....

[Shatalin] They are using these dreadful words—"disintegration of the USSR," "the Soviet Union will disappear from the map of the world"—in an attempt to fan unnecessary passions. But the essence of this lies elsewhere. Let us consider what is really happening in our lives now. The Baltic states, Russia, the Ukraine, and Belorussia have adopted declarations of sovereignty.... In some places they are preparing to coin their own money and raise customs barriers. And will this lead to a strengthening of the "unity of the family of fraternal peoples" as we were saying so recently? We have come to disintegration as the result of the economic disaster in which the country finds itself, and of short-sighted and unskillful domestic policy. So what happens now? Do we send troops into all the territories from the Baltic to the Black Sea and the Pacific? First, there are not enough troops, and second, I think that the soldiers will not fire on the people....

So there is disintegration, and the central authorities are rapidly losing control of the levers of power. And this is obvious to anyone who does not watch life just through an office window.

This is why we believe that the only way to save the state is to strengthen the economic union of the sovereign republics. This, I repeat, is the only chance: Instead of the disintegration that is now taking place, we must switch to creation.

The whole point is that implementation of our program will make it possible to preserve the state with a unified monetary unit—the ruble—an all-Union market, unified energy and communications systems, and so forth. The republics will delegate to the Union management organs they create powers such as concern for defense capability and dealing with organized crime. The all-Union management organs will realize an agreed credit-and-monetary and foreign exchange policy aimed at strengthening the buying power of the ruble and regulating at Union level the prices for key kinds of raw materials, output, commodities and services, for which the range should be agreed by all subjects of the economic union. Foreign economic policy, the ecology, the most important fundamental research, space programs, and so forth will all fall within the competence of the Union management organs. So how is this a disintegration of the state? True, the center will not dictate its will on the republics; on the contrary, it will be formed by them. But this is democracy, an objective demand of the times, whether anyone likes it or not.

And if we fail to take this last chance then we will not be able to avoid trouble.

[Golovachev] To judge from the letters from TRUD readers, what worries most of them is the question of prices. Critics of your program claim that it will be impossible to hold prices after they have been "let loose."

[Shatalin] It has already been reported in your newspaper that prices for 100 to 150 specific kinds of commodities and services that make up the foundation of the living minimum will be frozen in 1991. And in 1992 control will still be exercised over essential goods (certain kinds of bread, meat, milk, sugar, and so forth). And in order to prevent any sharp increase in free prices, a firm financial-and-credit policy will be pursued, the budget deficit will be reduced, and the money supply will be monitored...

In addition, it is proposed that surplus "hot" money be tied up so that speculative demand will be dampened.

[Golovachev] But what if prices do rise? Have any predictive calculations been made?

[Shatalin] Various scenarios have been calculated. Let us assume that prices rise 50 percent. Then, prices will be temporarily frozen, either through indexed compensation for the increases or by the republic and local organs, by setting an upper level...

[Golovachev] But why it is not possible to use the government scenario?

[Shatalin] Immediately triple prices? This is very bad. First we envisage stabilization of the ruble and economic improvement, and then we will gradually free up prices for essential commodities. A process of balancing the consumer market will take place, and as availability of goods improves prices will start to fall. But now imagine what would happen if prices immediately double or triple. It will not just result in increased social tension. It will not be possible to restrain prices by administrative measures and after a time it will be necessary to raise them again, and so on in a spiral....

[Golovachev] One of the main disagreements is with respect to private ownership....

[Shatalin] Outworn dogmas have frightened people into thinking that private ownership and hired labor are exploitation and robbery.... But world experience shows that the more developed market relations are, the higher the level of social safeguards for the workers, if, of course, there are strong trade unions. Here, the exploitation of man is several times greater than in the developed countries. So that our program provides for the creation of the same conditions for the development of all forms of ownership. We believe that it is possible to sell even land to private owners, and not only rural inhabitants but also people living in the cities. And the means of production, and stores...

[Golovachev] But will this not be simply fatal in terms of cost?

[Shatalin] Look for yourself. A store with a floor area of up to 30 square meters can, according to the calculations, cost 2,000 rubles [R] to R6,000, while the cost of a store with a floor area up to 100 square meters is R9,000 to R16,000, the same as for a small car, for which there are now enormous waiting lists.

[Golovachev] If you could summarize in just a couple of words the essential nature or motto of the government program and of your own program...

[Shatalin] I would say that we do not want to bring the rich down to the level of the poor, which today is precisely what some people call fairness, but on the contrary, we want to give the poor the opportunity to become rich. This is the meaning of our program.

[Golovachev] You obviously face a hard road ahead.

[Shatalin] Debate is a normal thing. It is something else that worries me. I would very much like the choice we face to be made honestly and without prejudice, and for political games and ambitions and the desire to cling to one's position regardless of the truths and untruths to have no influence here. It all seems so petty and trivial when the fate of the country is being decided....

Railmen Ask Gorbachev for Economic Assistance

PM1909123590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 Sep 90 First Edition p 2

[Railways Ministry appeal: "Please Help. Appeal to Soviet President M.S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] The preparatory work for the country's transition to a market economy is nearing completion. Communists working in the railroad transport sphere give their all-around support to the party and government course of renewing Soviet society, improving the political climate in the country, and boosting the economy on the basis of market relations, a course geared to improving the lives of all citizens of our homeland.

Railroad transport has always made a substantial contribution to ensuring the stable operation of all national economic sectors, the expansion of intersectoral and interregional ties, and strengthening of the country's defense capability. It must ensure that it performs this role at the new stage of the country's development as well. But even as preparations are being made for the transition to market relations, the railroad transport situation is extremely bad. The inadequate appreciation of railroad transport's problems and the underestimation of its actual status and potential are causing special concern.

The railroads are entering the market economy with numerous problems in the development of the material and technical base and the social sphere, and with an ever worsening financial deficit.

As a very important, key sphere of the national economy, one which is remaining under the aegis of the state in market conditions, railroad transport is not getting the essential support from central management bodies and economic departments. All the sector's proposals geared to the normal functioning of the railroads in market relations conditions are encountering a blank wall of incomprehension and rejection. The program for retooling and modernizing the railroad in 1991-2000, which was elaborated on instructions from directive bodies and whose implementation will if not completely solve the sector's problems then at least prevent its disintegration, has still not been examined and adopted.

The adoption of a USSR Law "On Railroad Transport" and the document "On the Specific Application of the USSR Law 'On Enterprises in the USSR' to Railroad Transport" is being delayed. Without the adoption of these documents, the unity and integrity of the entire national network of railroads, linked by common transportation technology and the need to ensure traffic safety, will not be confirmed in legislative form.

The sector is not provided with conditions that match those of enterprises under other forms of ownership. Railroad transport is being thrown into the deep end of the market, so to speak, with strictly regulated tariffs, the projected level of which shows a sharp reduction.

Because of the developing deficit (of the order of 10 billion rubles), railroad transport is losing the opportunity to independently tackle urgent matters of production construction and to improve housing and living conditions for railroad workers. At the same time, there are no prospects of subsidies from the union budget for those purposes. It is also worrying to see union and autonomous republics and krays and oblasts approaching transport from purely consumerist positions, in view of the fact that railroad transport is categorized as all-union property.

The problems of transport services for the national economy in market relations conditions are not reflected either in the program devised by Academician Shatalin's group or in the USSR Government's program.

Our immense anxiety concerning the sector's future, the unpredictable consequences in the event of the failure to adopt urgent and fundamental measures, and, therefore, the future of perestroyka compels us, Communists of the sector headquarters, to ask you, Mikhail Sergeyevich, as the country's president and general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to examine railroad transport's problems and prevent destabilization of the work of the national economy because of a lack of transport facilities.

Adopted unanimously at the 36th conference of the Ministry of Railways primary party organization.

Bread in Moscow's Stores, Problems Remain

904D0224B Moscow GUDOK in Russian 14 Sep 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "There Is Bread, There Are No Lines"]

[Text]**The bread crisis that brought the capital to fever pitch has apparently "been taken care of."**

In other words, there is bread in the stores and there are no lines. This is what was stated in a report from the dispatcher at "Moskhlebtorg" [Moscow State Organization for Retail Trade in Baked Goods] for the day before yesterday—"calm"—if we disregard "trivia" such as a small number of interruptions in deliveries of the products (in 12 instances, for 4,000 schedules), and late deliveries (105 cases for a total of 453 hours).

Bakery deliveries were short 35 tonnes of products against what was ordered by "Moskhlebtorg," but this was not reflected in the trading because it returned to its normal level, with daily sales of 1,100 to 1,150 tonens of bakery items.

Notwithstanding, bitter experience has shown that neither the bakery industry, which as of 12 September had failed to fill its orders, nor the trade network itself, which for its part has also started to reduce its orders, have any cause for complacency.

And finally, there is the advice, not reproach, that is being offered by the experts. There is no need to panic at the first serious interruptions. There may be others ahead, and not just in this sector. But everyone must try to correct the situation. And the hullabaloo that has been raised in connection with the bread shortage has served only to worsen it.

Moscow Economic Conference Discusses Reforms

LD1709163490 Moscow TASS in English 1513 GMT 17 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow September 17 TASS—More than seventy world leading economists have converged on Moscow from 12 countries to discuss plans for Soviet economic reform, which are being considered by the country's parliament at the same time.

The three-day conference was organized by the Soviet Peace Committee, the Academy of Economics under the USSR Council of Ministers and the U.S. Global Development Institute.

In his opening address at the conference, economist Pavel Bunich stressed that economic reforms today were of decisive importance for the fate of perestroika policy.

He spoke in detail about the plan elaborated by a group of scientists under the leadership of economist Stanislav Shatalin.

Bunich said that it differed radically from the government plan for raising prices, a measure which Bunich described as "confiscation".

Shatalin's 500 days plan, on the contrary, proposes drawing off the population's excessive money resources by raising the savings bank's interest rate, selling of state assets, housing and land to people and subsequently introducing free pricing. Bunich said he believed that the 500 days plan was the most acceptable one for the Soviet Union.

Director of the Harvard University Center of Russian Studies Marshall Goldman sounded skeptical about some provisions in the 500 days plan. He said the compilers' major error was that they did not start with agriculture.

In addition, he advocated monetary reform—a point objected to by the Shatalin group. According to Goldman, monetary reform could facilitate the money drawoff from the mafia. He said land would be mostly bought by mafia members, which can undermine the people's trust in reforms.

Carnegie-Mellon University Professor Alan Meltzer supported Goldman in advocating monetary reform. He said the people's trust in reforms was one of the decisive conditions to secure the success of economic reform plans.

This is why, he insisted, it is also necessary to work out additional anti-inflation measures and measures to ensure the stability of consumer goods prices. He called upon the compilers of the plan for economic restructuring to focus on working out measures to reduce the state budget deficit.

Head of the global economic development institute, former New Zealand Prime Minister Robert Muldoon recalled that the economic world was lately becoming increasingly interdependent. This is why we have all assembled in Moscow to help Soviet economists to analyse plans for economic reform and contribute to their realization, he said.

Rukh Protests Food Shipments to Moscow

904D0224A Moscow TRUD in Russian 14 Sep 90 p 1

["Postfaktum" report: "Should Moscow Go Hungry?"]

[Text]**By demand of the public in Khodorov the shipment of foodstuffs to Mosocw has been stopped.**

For several days here at the initiative of activists in the Ukrainian Rukh [People's Movement for Perestroyka] movement, the Ukrainian Republic Party, and the Ukrainian Language Society Imeni Shevchenko and the "Memorial" and "Philanthropic" societies, railroad warehouses of the "Troyanda" organization have been picketed. The warehouses contain state reserves of foodstuffs and essential goods for the western region of the Ukraine in the event of various kinds of emergency situations. In early September telegrams were received from Moscow demanding the immediate dispatch of 5,500 tonnes of sugar to the capital (TRUD has reported this), and 3.5 million cans of meat preserves. The telegram [as published] was the reason for mass protest actions. Those involved in the picketing have taken control of the railroad branch lines leading to the "Troyanda" warehouses and the loading facilities at the Khodorov railroad station. Stepan Davimuka, chairman of the Lvov Oblast Executive Committee, regards the order from the center as "at variance with the state sovereignty and economic interests of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]" and has issued instructions banning the "export of commodities from the "Troyanda" organization."

Foreign Experts To Assess Economic Plans

PM1709123990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by M. Berger: "International Expert Study of Our Economic Programs"—all non-Russian names as transliterated]

[Text] Since we are trying to assimilate all that is best in world economic experience, especially in the field of transitional models for assimilating a market economy, it is perfectly natural that we should want to know what recognized Western economic authorities think of our plans. The "Cultural Initiative" foundation, or rather its rapidly developing "Economic Initiative" subdivision, intends to help in organizing expert economic studies involving well known Western specialists and scientists. The foundation itself was instituted by the American financier and scientist George Soros, the Soviet culture foundation, and the Soviet peace foundation. The foundation's main aim is to assist the development of society's intellectual and cultural potential.

The "Economic Initiative" plans include an expert study and consultative assistance for new structures of power at all levels, the implementation of the "Economic Culture" program within whose framework economic literature publications are financed, and the creation of a data bank for training and finding jobs for those who would like to become managers in our economy as it is being reformed.

A large group of experts from various countries arrived in our country recently at the invitation of the Union government and the Russian parliament with the foundation's technical and financial assistance. The aim of the visit is a preliminary acquaintance with the programs of the government and Academician S. Shatalin's group.

The list of the economists who have come to visit us attests itself to the enormous interest which the West is displaying in our reforming efforts and to the great desire to help us. B. Bosworth, who held the post of director of the presidential council on wages and prices in the Carter administration; G. de la Dekhesa, a businessman who was secretary for trade, the economy, and finances in the Spanish Government from 1977 through 1989; G. Ofer, professor of economics at Jerusalem University; R. Prodi, professor of industrial policy at Bologna University; D. Saks, professor of economics at Harvard University and an economic adviser to the Polish and Yugoslav Governments; L. Sammers, professor of economics at Harvard University and a former staffer of the U.S. President's council of economic consultants; M. Tardosh, professor of economics at Budapest Economic University and a member of parliament; D. Finch, former IMF adviser; S. Fisher, professor of economics at Massachusetts Institute of Technology and former chief economist at the World Bank; and E. Hewett, a specialist on the Soviet economy and leading scientific staffer at the Brookings Institution (United States) came to Moscow with D. Soros.

So there are grounds for counting on an authoritative international conclusion. What conclusions has such a representative team reached? Answering this question D. Soros said that all members of the group assess highly the level of discussion. As for the programs themselves, it is hard to form a full impression of works covering many pages in just a few days. Until the Supreme Soviet makes its decision the group is refraining from official conclusions in order not to influence the parliament's decision. After the choice has been made, the Western experts are prepared to join in work as regards the assessment of the drafts and as regards what will be connected with measures to implement them.

Nuclear Powered Icebreaker Now Operational

LD1709181790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 17 Sep 90

[Text] A new nuclear powered icebreaker, Vaygach, left Murmansk today on its first working journey. Specialists from Finland took part in its construction. The nuclear powered ship fully complies with all requirements of the International Atomic Energy Authority's marine inspectorate. This has been confirmed by Norwegian nuclear power engineering specialists, who visited the vessel during its presentation in the port of Tromso. The Vaygach is the first Soviet nuclear powered icebreaker to visit a foreign port. It is to escort cargo ships to the Arctic Ocean coast, and to escort ships in shallow waters and in the estuaries of Siberian rivers.

Industry Workers Dissatisfied With Terms

PM1409112390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 13 Sep 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast: Report by S. Radushina and R. Khayalin]

[Text] [Announcer] A highly important question is now being decided—what the union treaty and relations with the country's republics will be like. We have been discussing this a lot, but there are sectors which will remain under general state control. These include power generation, and it too has plenty of problems, unfortunately.

[Radushina] The Yeglinskiy [as heard] GRES [state regional electric power station] is located in the very east of the oblast, far from the oblast center. It is one of the largest GRES's in Russia. Each year it generates up to 6 billion kilowatt-hours of power. As part of the country's electricity system, the power is supplied to six oblasts. And, by literally pulling out all the stops, the GRES has now become one of the sector's front-ranking enterprises. [Radushina] These people could have been retained with some kind of material or social benefits, or by good prospects. But once again...

[Ryazanov] We do not feel independent at all. I would say it is a Russian tradition—they have given us our independence and taken it back again. That is to say, we are now a structural unit at the minister's beck and call. And all our profits—all our revenue, so to speak—goes somewhere else. But, in my opinion, the crux of the matter is that, if we are directed to work on other projects for quite different plants, then they should provide the basic resource—money. That is to say, people should get some extra money on top of their basic pay. If this happens we will go looking for orders and have an interest in doing so.

[Radushina] Both the Yeglinskiy GRES and other power generating enterprises of this kind, while having become independent structural units, have largely lost the ability to exist independently.

Leased Stores Proving Successful in Aktyubinsk

PM1409132190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report filed from Aktyubinsk by own correspondent Sergey Yeremeyev under the "Direct Line" rubric: "You Can Buy a Store"]

[Text] The first steps toward demonopolizing trade have been taken in Aktyubinsk Oblast.

A standing commission of the oblast soviet has proposed to workers in the state trade network that they lease stores. There is already a precedent: Three leasehold stores effectively operate in the "Khozlesostroytorg" [Construction and Lumber Sales Association] retail and wholesale association. In the absence of any kind of overseers and the presence of material incentive seemingly hackneyed catchphrases—"improving the standard of service," "increasing goods turnover," and "increasing the range"—have become a reality. However, having now tasted freedom, the temporary co-owners of collective property are planning to buy out the enterprises altogether.

"Such a possibility was originally stipulated" and we will not obstruct this at all," "Khozlesostroytorg" Director L. Telyatnikova said.

It remains to be added that among the last to learn about the existence of these leasehold stores were... the leaders of the oblast trade administration.

Agricultural

Coverage of 13-19 Sep Developments Noted

LD2009024890

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian on 13-19 September, unless indicated otherwise. Times of broadcast, given in GMT, are in parentheses at the end of each item.

13 September

By 10 September grain had been threshed from 39.5 million hectares in the Russian Federation, which is 69.5 percent of the area shown; 92 million tonnes of grain crops have been threshed.

14-16 September

No significant developments reported.

17 September

According to the report of the republican statistic committee, so far 60,250 hectares of grain crops has been threshed. Thus, 41.5 percent of the plan has been fillfulled. [Frunze Domestic Service in Kirghiz 1400 GMT 17 Sep 90]

Sugarbeet harvesting has begun in Lipetsk Oblast. The harvest is a large one. The target yield is in excess of two million tonnes of roots. In Chechen-Ingushetia the same crop occupies about 9,000 hectares.

Rice harvesting is in progress in the Crimea. Rice was grown on about 1,000 hectares this year. Farmers intend to sell the state 70,000 tonnes.

18 September

Tajikistan has delivered 200,000 tonnes of cotton to state storage places. Farmers of the Kurgan Oblast have set a record for the Urals in growing buckwheat, with some farms yielding up to 20 quintals per hectares. Above-plan harvest is enough to meet fully the oblast's buckwheat demand but the leaders of the oblast's bread production association refuse to accept any more, claiming that processing enterprises already are overloaded.

19 September

Agricultural workers of Kustanay Oblast in Kazakhstan have given the state the first million tonnes of the new harvest, fulfilling one third of the state order. On average, farms are receiving more than 300 rubles per tonne of cereal crops.

Early September Weather, Crop Situation Reported

904B0292A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 15 Sep 90 First p 3

[Article by O. Pisarenko, agricultural meteorologist: "Weather and Crops"]

[Text] Cool and rainy weather prevails over a large part of the USSR's European territory. The average air temperature in the majority of regions was three to four degrees lower than the annual average. In the Northern region and in places in the Urals region light frosts reaching two to four degrees below zero were noted in the air and at the soil surface.

In Belorussia and the Baltic region, in the northwestern, central, central-Chernozem, and Volga-Vyatka regions, and in the northwestern Volga region conditions were unfavorable for field work, storage of fodder, and harvesting potatoes and winter crops due to rains which have fallen for four to seven days and, in places, eight to 10 days, high air humidity, and a waterlogged upper layer of the soil. Germination of wheat has been noted in a number of these regions along with decay of potato tubers and damage to potatoes by phytophthora.

Over a large part of the potato-producing zone of the USSR's European territories the vegetative stage of the potato ended at a time that was close to the annual average, and wilting of the tops has been noted. On the average seven to 10 tubers formed under each bush, and 40-60 percent of them achieved normal dimensions. The weight of the tubers under one bush runs from 300-700 grams.

In the Baltic region, Belorussia, and on the majority of farms in the Ukraine, in Belgorod and Voronezh Oblasts, and in the Volga and Urals regions the sugar beet root crop showed intensive growth. Over the 10-day period the sugar beet grew 65-100 grams. However because of the prevalence of cloudy weather, conditions for accumulation of sugars over the majority of this territory were only satisfactory. In the southern oblasts of the Ukraine, Moldova, and the Northern Caucasus growth was unremarkable (less than 30 grams over the 10-day period), but sunny weather contributed to the accumulation of sugars. Harvesting of sugar beets has begun in the majority of localities in this area.

Over a large part of the Ukraine and northern Rostov and Volgograd Oblasts the rains replenished stores of productive moisture in the upper layer of the soil, which is important for the sowing of winter crops.

In the central and central-Chernozem regions as well as in the Baltic region and Belorussia sowing of winter grain crops is being delayed due to rain. In many fields the soil is waterlogged, and water stagnation has been noted.

Over a large part of the territory of the northern, northwestern, Volga-Vyatka, and Urals regions and in the northern Volga region conditions for the growth and development of winter grain crops was satisfactory.

Cool and rainy weather prevailed over the agricultural zone of Siberia. In a number of rayons of Omsk, Novosibirsk, and Kemerovo Oblasts and Altay Kray light frosts were noted in the air and at the surface of the soil (one to five degrees below zero), which could harm potatoes that have been dug up but not yet collected from the fields. Conditions were unfavorable for harvest efforts because of four to seven days of rains and waterlogged soil. In individual rayons germination of wheat in the swaths has been noted, phytophthora has developed on potatoes, and in places the tubers are decaying. Conditions for the growth and development of winter crops has for the most part been good. The topsoil contains about 25-40 mm of productive moisture. However, in a number of the rayons of Tyumen, Omsk, Novosibirsk, and Tomsk Oblasts there was not enough warmth for development of plants.

In the republics of Central Asia warm and dry weather that was favorable for the growth and development of cotton was observed for most of the 10-day period. By 10 September an average of 12-16 bolls had formed on each bush in Khorezm, Surkhan-Darya, Kulyab, Kurgan-Tyube, and Mary Oblasts, and an average of 17-18 had formed in Gasannuliyskiy, Kazandzhikskiy, Kara-Kalinskiy, Kizil-Arvatskiy, Kizil-Atrakskiy, and Krasnovodskiy Rayons of the Turkmen SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. Warm and dry weather favored opening of the bolls. The average number of opened bolls was four to five, and in the southern part of the territory it was six to eight, which is one to two bolls more than the average annual indicators and last year. Hand picking of the raw cotton continued under favorable conditions, and collection by harvest machines had begun at the end of the 10-day period.

Reportage on Grain Harvesting in RSFSR

Sales Shortfall Noted

PM1909151190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by V. Konovalov: "Path to Granaries Lies Through Market"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Additional measures to stimulate the sale of grain to the state will be taken by the country's government.

The situation is very alarming. A TASS correspondent was told at the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Food and Purchases that only a few oblasts and krays of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] have fulfilled state orders for the sale of grain. And throughout the republic as a whole the state order has been fulfilled only 59 percent. The farms of the Ukraine have virtually halted the sale of grain to the state: They have delivered only 13.8 million tonnes of grain—3.7 million tonnes less than the state order. In the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic about 9.4 million tonnes of grain have already been threshed but only 2.7 million tonnes have been sold. There is a similar picture in a number of other republics and throughout the country as a whole. Of the 170 million tonnes of grain that have been harvested only 48.7 million tonnes have entered state stocks. That is 56 percent of the state order.

There is no denying that emergency measures are needed and they will possibly produce some effect. But it is absolutely clear that if we continue to tolerate resistance to the peasant's emancipation and to delay the transition to a market economy based on people's interests then instead of a normal life a period of unmitigated "emergency situations" awaits us.

Weekly Summary

LD1909154190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Text] The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] State Committee for Statistics has summed up harvest work for this week. Ivan Ivanovich (Garidasov), deputy chairman of the (Goszemleprom) [expansion unknown] comments:

By September 17, bread grain had been threshed on 44 million hectares, which is 76 percent of the sown area, and 99 million tonnes had been threshed. The yield so far is 22.5 quintals per hectare, which is 5.4 quintals higher than last year. Harvesting of grain and beans has been practically completed in north Kazakhstan, the central black earth zone, and part of the Volga-Vyatskiy area. Farms in Tver, Ulyanovsk, Orenburg, Chelyabinsk oblasts, the Altay Kray and Bashkir Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic are further behind than they were this time last year. There is a large gap between reaping and threshing.

Grain corn has been harvested from about 100,000 hectares from 1.4 million hectares. The yield is between 20 and 30 quintals per hectare. Sugar beet has been cleared from 8,600 hectares [as heard] against 300,000 hectares last year. Potatoes have been lifted from 380,000 hectares against 940,000; sunflower has been harvested from about seven percent of the sown area. The yield of these cultures is higher than last year practically everywhere.

Some 28.9 million tonnes of grain has been procured from the farms of the Republic, which is 62 percent of the state order. In 1989, it was 26.9 million tonnes. Named oblasts have fulfilled their orders, and others are near it. But others are far behind.

Scientific

Ust-Kamenogorks Beryllium Pollution Reported

PM1809100990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent V. Mirolevich and IZVESTIYA report on USSR Ministry of the Nuclear Power Industry Statement: "Accident in Ust-Kamenogorsk: Culprits Conceal Documents"]

[Text] Ust-Kamenogorsk—By the evening of 14 September the ecological group of the city emergency commission had made public the official figures for the contamination of Ust-Kamenogorsk after the accident at the beryllium plant.

In the city center, where the IZVESTIYA correspondents' center is located, the maximum permissible concentration of beryllium in the atmosphere was 60 times in excess of the norm [as published]. A similar concentration has been recorded on the city outskirts in the textile workers' residential microrayon. The scale of the city's contamination on the day of the accident was great. Analyses of the air taken yesterday still show traces of contamination in some places but as a whole the situation seems to be returning to normal. Soil tests have shown that the maximum permissible norm has been substantially exceeded in only one rayon.

Doctors have reported that about 200 adults and 73 children have been examined and no beryllium has been found in people. No one has signs of acute poisoning. The laboratories' round the clock work has been organized and the plant's medical and sanitation sector will take people on nonworking days. The favorable results of the first studies are not making the doctors complacent: Even a single contact with beryllium can take several weeks or up to 10 years and more to show up in a person.

Against the background of the officially proven fact of the city's contamination, the conduct of the "authors" of the tragedy—the workers at the Ulba metallurgical plant—is beyond common sense. The city services are mobilizing all equipment for the round the clock washing of the city—the culprits have not made their own vehicles available. A sitting of the emergency commission today revealed that the plant has in fact not begun work to eliminate the results of the accident. Ya. Gonenko, acting chief engineer at the Ulba metallurgical plant, has stated that the elimination plan will only be ready by Monday. In this emergency situation the plant project workers and workers of other services at the enterprise, who could have speeded up the isolation of the center of pollution open to all the winds, have, it turns out, been released on "legitimate" leave. Yet on Sunday meteorologists are already predicting a change in the weather and a strong wind. That means that the city's secondary contamination is probable. It is essential to close the damaged establishments immediately. The commission has obliged the plant to do so by the morning of 16 September.

As before nothing is known of the true causes of the accident or the quantity of substances cast into the atmosphere. The plant's security service has confiscated the necessary documents and is concealing them from the commission members. Yet these figures contain the answer to the key question which will help the ecologists and doctors establish the full picture of the contamination. [Mirolevich report ends]

On the evening of 14 September the USSR Ministry of the Nuclear Power Industry passed on to us an official report from the departmental commission for the investigation of the accident. Essentially these are the first conclusions since 12 September when a hydrogen explosion occurred at 1020 hours local time in one of the blocks of the "Ulba Metallurgical Plant" association's beryllium plant.

According to the report, the blast wave destroyed the internal partitions, glass windowpanes, and in part the walls. The ventilation was put out of operation. Four shop workers received minor injuries, they were given assistance, and are now being treated as outpatients. One worker was hospitalized.

Together with the products of combustion, beryllium aerosols in the ventilation system were expelled into the atmosphere. On 12 September from 1100 hours to 1300 hours the content of beryllium in the air was two to 10 times the maximum permissible concentration in the region of the accident in the production area. By 1520 hours the sanitary situation i the area had normalized. The beryllium content was 0.08 to 0.7 of the maximum permissible concentration.

On 12 September from 1100 to 1300 hours according to the results of analyses the beryllium aerosol content in various rayons of the city fluctuated from 0.9 to 60 times the maximum permissible concentration. On 13 and 14 September no excess of permissible levels of air pollution was recorded in the city.

The investigation of the causes of the accident is continuing.

TASS Reviews Cosmonauts' 50 Days Aboard Mir

LD1909210190 Moscow TASS in English 2031 GMT 19 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Rena Kuznetsova]

[Text] Moscow September 19 TASS—Gennadiy Manakov and Gennadiy Strekalov have been working on board the Mir space station for 50 days.

They have carried out a considerable part of the programme, dozens of soundings of the earth's surface in the interest of the national economy and unloaded the automatic cargo spacecraft Progress M-4.

On Wednesday, the cosmonauts were involved in medical researches. They have tested the state of the flight commander's cardiovascular system with the help of special equipment. The cosmonauts have conducted prophylactic work and geophysical research of the earth's atmosphere.

During the flight, they have fulfilled the programme of materials' study and conducted a melting experiment on the Krater-V installation, that took 260 hours. They have obtained a semiconductor material, zinc oxide, used in the radioelectronic industry, and have grown a monochrystal of another semiconductor, gallium arsenide, on the Gallar apparatus. The experiment lasted for 240 hours.

The cosmonauts are also monitoring the state of ecology in some regions of the Soviet Union. The research is conducted with the help of videospectral equipment installed in the Kvant-2 module. a special photounit, Priroda-5, installed in the Kristall module, is used to study the earth's mineral resources. It is also used for ecological monitoring.

Cosmonaut Suggests Drug Surveillance From Space

LD1909155490 Moscow TASS in English 1537 GMT 19 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Borisov and Igor Gvritishvili]

[Text] Moscow September 19 TASS—Soviet Cosmonaut Viktor Savinykh suggested that Soviet space equipment be used to search for drug plants. He was speaking today at the international seminar devoted to combating drugs, which is attended by customs officials from 31 countries.

Savinykh, heading the Geodesy, Aerial Photography and Cartography Institute, believes "traditional methods of searching for drug plants are becoming less effective." He said the Soviet Union works to develop operative methods to discover illegal plantations, using remote sounding facilities.

Preliminary experiments have shown the highly efficient Soviet equipment allows to discover opium poppy plantations as small as 10 square meters wide.

The research is based on the study of drug plants' spectral reflecting characteristics and the possibility to use materials of multizonal and spectrozonal survey, received from board the aircraft and artificial satellites, he said.

Crews working on board the Mir space station are rendering great assistance in the elaboration of the method, Savinykh said.

Savinykh told TASS that "in the nearest future, we might expect an unprecedented spread of drugs in the world, and it is necessary to join efforts to combat drug trafficking."

The Soviet Union is ready "to sign an agreement with all interested organisations to ensure land and air spectrometering of drug plants, take photographs of any region of the world from board the manned space stations and artificial satellites and equip and air laboratory with special equipment," Savinykh said.

Military

Assessments of Armed Forces Reforms, Reductions

Yazov Interviewed on Cuts

PM1909143890 Moscow IAN PRESS RELEASE in English No 13690, 14 Sep 90

[Interview with Marshal Dmitriy Yazov, member of the Presidential Council and Soviet Defense Minister, by Major General Yuriy Lebedev: "Marshal Yazov on Sweeping Changes in the USSR Armed Forces and the Resulting Problems"—first paragraph is an introduction]

[Text] Marshal Dmitriy Yazov is a member of the Presidential Council and the Soviet Minister of Defence. Here he talks to Major-General Yuri Lebedev of NOVOSTI:

[Lebedev] What you feel is primarily required to enable the USSR's Armed Forces to meet modern international and internal requirements?

[Yazov] For our Army and Navy to acquire a new dimension that will include state-of-the-art equipment, a popular nature, a high level of skills and loyalty to the soldier's duty and the heroic traditions of serving the Motherland a whole set of profound transformations need to be effected before the end of this century.

As arms and armaments are reduced and progress is made toward sufficient defences, we will optimise the composition of the Armed Forces, set up an organisational structure, a personnel training and education system to enable personnel to accomplish defensive objectives with maximum efficiency at strategic, operational and tactical levels.

It is in these areas that the military reform is being effected in the first instance. Multi-faceted work to carry out the reform was taken from theory to practice in May 1987 when the Soviet Union adopted a new doctrine of national defence. The doctrine is the key element of reform; its conceptual basis that determines its main objectives and principles.

Major steps will be taken to transform our defences in accordance with the doctrine. Defence allocations have been reduced considerably, the 1990 military budget slashed by 8.2 percent since 1989, that is 71.0 billion rubles in 1990 as compared to 77.3 billion rubles in 1989.

The production of armaments is being reduced and put on civilian lines on a planned basis. The "conversion" of military industry (the transfer into the civilian sector) is expected to result in a situation where by 1995 as much as 60 percent of the defence industry's output will be of a civilian nature.

Our decision on cutting the armed forces by 500,000 personnel unilaterally is being implemented. A new group is being set up within the Soviet Union. Democratisation and glasnost are gaining momentum in the Army and in the Navy.

A lot has yet to be done. The Defence Council under the President has considered a draft military reform for 1991-1995 to end by 2000. The document, which will be submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet, provides for the improvement of the Armed Forces, including through bringing together elements that are close in terms of their combat objectives and equipment.

For instance, the strategic missile forces will see a reduction in the number of units and large units and group changes. The land forces are experiencing a reduction in the number of general mission units and large units, their internal structure being transformed to address defensive needs.

Radical changes will take place in the composition, group structure and principles of combat use of the anti-aircraft forces. The airborne forces will transform aviation formations, reduce the types of aircraft and helicopter pool, streamline the base system.

Major changes will take place in the composition, structure, equipment and bases of the navy. There are plans to optimise the military-technical policies, considerably enhance the quality, reliability, efficiency of the equipment of all arms and services in the Armed Forces. The job will have to be done in the context of the profound "conversion" of the military industry.

Other important areas of reform in the Armed Forces are as follows: the education on the principles and order of use of the Army and Navy proceeding from the defence doctrine, strategies, operational art and tactics, improvement of the personnel training and recruitment systems in the Army and Navy, a reform of the system of party and political work in the Armed Forces.

A Presidential Decree has been issued to deal with the latter. Last but not least comes the establishing of an effective system of social and legal safeguards of the life and activities of the personnel and further democratisation of the amed forces. Certain supplementary measures along these lines have been outlined in the Presidential Decree.

Obviously, full implementation of the large-scale and complex objectives of the reform will call for major national efforts and time allocations and will take at least ten years.

[Lebedev] What practical contribution to security-building measures is being made by intergovernmental military contacts?

[Yazov] I happened to be the first Soviet Defence Minister to officially visit the USA, Britain, France and Italy. Many NATO Defence Ministers have recently visited the USSR. This is among the indicators of the transformation of international relations on the basis of new political thinking.

The enhancing of the long-term basis of military contacts and their dynamics and the occurring of such contacts at ever new levels meets the challenge of the times and the interests of general security and peace. My main conclusion is that the problem of trust is the sine qua non. There are several options but there is no going back.

[Lebedev] The coming into force of the treaties on 50 percent reductions in the Soviet and US strategic forces and on the reductions of arms and armaments in Europe will probably further reduce the numerical strength of the USSR Armed Forces. Are there any measures planned to ensure social security for personnel to retire, such as employment opportunities and retraining for civilian jobs, etc?

[Yazov] Yes, such measures have been planned, and a few are being implemented. Last year the government passed a decree on the provision of pensions for officers, warrant officers and ensigns who are dismissed from the army as a result of cuts and who don't have a sufficient record to claim pensions. Officers will be paid their salaries at the last job for a year after dismissal. Warrant officers and ensigns who have been reduced through cuts and who are not entitled to pensions will also be paid their salaries for a year.

The period during which the wives of officers, warrant officers, ensigns and re-enlisted men lived with their husbands in localities where they couldn't find employment according to their training is included in their record of work that counts in the assigning of old-age pensions as long as the period does not exceed 10 years, provided their record of work is insufficient for them to qualify for an old-age pension. The continuity of the work record has been ensured for the wives of the servicemen who did service abroad, no matter what the interval in their work record following their return to the USSR is.

The Defence Ministry and the USSR State Committee for Labour have drawn a set of measures to provide employment and deal with other needs of personnel to be reduced. The plan provides for the retraining of servicemen and their families at the education facilities available to enterprises and organisations, technical schools and other educational establishments.

However most of the personnel to be dismissed are highly-skilled experienced people with degrees in such priority areas as nuclear power engineering, electrical engineering, radio electronics, operation of machines and mechanisms and many other areas. Such people can only do a lot of good for the economy.

I would not like to end the interview on an alarming note but life makes me do it. We are having an incredibly hard time providing housing for the reduced personnel. Our withdrawal from Hungary and Czechoslovakia has brought the number of servicemen who don't have flats to 200,000.

The Defence Ministry is taking measures to solve the problem having put to use its own construction resources. But the scale of the operations is so vast that we cannot possibly do the job on our own. That is why it is extremely important to implement the purpose-oriented national social programme that we have submitted to the government. The programme appreciates the interests and expectations of those who have already dismissed from the Armed Forces and those who will be dismissed later.

Air Force Chief on Market

90SV0069A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Sep 90 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Colonel General of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov, delegate to the 28th Party Congress, member of the CPSU Central Committee, and commander in chief of the Air Force, by Colonel A. Manushkin, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent; date and place not given: "Money Likes To Be Looked After"]

[Text] [Manushkin] It is no secret to anyone that the condition of an army is determined by the nature of those sociopolitical processes that occur in a society. Today, the country is on the eve of a transition to market relations. Will this aggravate, the very difficult position of a military person, difficult to begin with, and, indeed, of the Army as a whole in the new system of mutual relations?

[Shaposhnikov] It is necessary for us right now to provide for and consider many things in detail so that this does not happen. Unfortunately, there is a conviction among some of the leaders of our Army structure that market relations and the problems associated with them will mainly affect civilian organizations and the civilian population. And it is said that inasmuch as "we are sitting astride" the budget, we do not have to worry. State policy will determine everything.

But is this the case? I will touch on a question that is close to me: the position of the Air Force in the coming socioeconomic changes. For this also means problems in the use of land for airfields, training ranges, and the provision of living quarters for servicemen, and, consequently, construction. And the purchase of equipment and many other things. If we do not now study and work out in detail these and accompanying questions we could end up in a most difficult position, even in such a matter as the manning of units.

[Manushkin] What is the connection here between manning the Air Force [VVS] with personnel and the market?

[Shaposhnikov] A very direct one, I think. We are already observing a lowering in the prestige of military service in the country. The reason lies in the propaganda (more correctly, in the antipropaganda) that is being conducted against the Army by some elements of the mass media. The intensification of social questions among the servicemen and members of their families, the high cost of living, and the comparatively low salary for military work also had an effect.

Under the conditions of a transition to a market the situation can get even more complicated. The outflow of energetic and industrious people and "bright stars" into the area of business undertakings and commerce will certainly increase.

What is the solution? There is a need for urgent consolidation of social guarantees for servicemen in a legislative manner. The military are people of the state, and they must think first of all about combat readiness, about the service, and not about how and where to find a place to stay and feed the family. It is time now to resolve all questions concerning residence permits, and medical and other types of services. And, of course, the problem of housing must be resolved. About 40,000 aviators today are without apartments.

What kinds of measures are being undertaken now? For example, previously in the Air Force appropriations were distributed as follows: 70 percent for the maintenance of airfields, and 30 percent for housing. Now we are changing our priorities. Of the resources released for construction, we will allocate up to 65 percent for housing. Enough of testing people's patience. A pilot's or any aviation specialist's apartment provides his strong rear, spiritual equilibrium, and moral support, and he spends less time resolving everyday problems, which means that he spends more time on the reason he wears shoulder boards—on the service and combat readiness.

I cannot help but say something also about the necessity of intensifying the propaganda of Army traditions and for their all-round support. Let us take, for example, the dynasties of servicemen, including pilots. They have always made the Army stronger. But now some believe that the son following in the footsteps of his father and becoming a pilot or an aviation engineer (a sailor, or a tanker) is of course bad. They almost see protectionism in this, and they say that daddy drags him in and helps him get set up in life. In an overwhelming majority of cases this is not so. Children who grew up in garrisons and later became officers adapt much more quickly to the conditions of Army life and get accustomed to all of its burdens.

[Manushkin] Do you think that resolving these questions will also solve the personnel problem?

[Shaposhnikov] Of course not. A complex of measures is needed here. In particular, along with the transition to market relations there will be an increase in retail prices, which, naturally, will affect the standard of living. So that this does not happen, it will be necessary to increase the level of salaries for military work in conformity with price levels. This is yet another of the directions of the social protection of servicemen under market relations conditions. That is, at minimum the standard of living should not get lower. Only in this case will we be able to prevent the increasing outflow of personnel from the Armed Forces.

[Manushkin] Yevgenniy Ivanovich, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA receives many letters from readers complaining that they frequently have to get involved in issues not associated with the direct execution of their service responsibilities....

[Shaposhnikov] Under the conditions of a market we will arrive at more businesslike and democratic relations. Life will compel it. Everyone should be engaged only in his work. Pilots—to fly, engineers—to service and maintain aircraft, drivers—to drive, and builders—to build. For this it is necessary to improve the authorized organizational structure of units and subunits.

As for cleaning up an area, there my opinion is unequivocal: At home we do not avoid housework, and who will put things right at work stations if we do not do so ourselves? Let us become seriously involved in the enhancement of everyday living.

[Manushkin] And how will conditions for the purchase of equipment change with the introduction of the market.

[Shaposhnikov] Unquestionably this will become more expensive. And this will force us to review the policy for purchasing military equipment and arms. The monopoly of the Ministry of the Aviation Industry compelled us until now to purchase that which was offered. Often, new aircraft were "raw," not meeting pertinent conditions and standards, and they did not respond to the requirements of the order.

The prospects look like this. All of the money allocated to us for arms must be at the disposal of the Air Force.

Figuratively speaking, in the safe of the commander in chief. And we must make decisions, proceeding from our needs: What and how much we have to buy, and what to reject. The cost of an aircraft is determined by its conformity to the requirements of the customer. If its tactical-technical characteristics are below the stated requirements, we also correspondingly pay less. That is the law of market relations.

We hope that a similar approach will compel aviation firms to be more enterprising, that it will create competition between them, that it will stimulate their creative search, and that, in the final analysis, it will have an effect on the quality of the product. And that it will in turn force us to economize on material resources. Thus, we are planning a cut in the types of aircraft. We are setting as an objective the task of having one type of fighter, bomber, military aircraft, etc. in the Air Force. This will substantially simplify the operation of the aircraft inventory, and the main thing is that it will reduce the cost.

We have also submitted an order to the aviation industry for a native training aircraft for flight schools that would be cheaper, more economical, reliable, and simple to operate.

[Manushkin] There is this kind of question we see in readers' letters: Are we doing the right thing in selling military equipment abroad? Here, for example, is what Captain Lakhvich writes to KRASNAYA ZVEZDA: "I flew a MiG-21 for more than eight years, and now I have undergone conversion training and have become proficient in the MiG-23UB and the MiG-27. Most of us only dream about an aircraft like the MiG-29 or the Su-27. What is happening? We do not have enough modern aircraft, and we read in the newspapers with amazement and regret that they are already being sold to other countries...."

[Shaposhnikov] It is necessary here to take into account the fact that modern aircraft are being sold abroad not by the Air Force, but by the decision of a higher authority. And this is being done, apparently, because in the current situation the country needs hard currency like it needs air. The Air Force is purchasing modern aviation equipment with exactly the funds that are allocated to us. We are reequipping units, and I am confident that in the near future Captain Lakhvich and his colleagues will be flying with super modern equipment.

As for the MiG-21, it is no longer being produced, and it is not being operated in combat units, but the MiG-23 and MiG-27 are still on the arms inventory, though only those that have not exhausted their remaining service life. The people's money was invested in them, and it would not be economical to scrap or dump them. Moreover, even under modern conditions the MiG-23 and MiG-27 are capable, according to their tactical-technical characteristics and armaments, of executing assigned tasks....

[Manushkin] Our aviation readers are also troubled by the obsolete system of servicing and supporting flights....

[Shaposhnikov] This is a special subject. The Air Force operates jet aircraft that are already fourth generation: The Su-27, MiG-29, and Tu-160, but then the support systems used until now are those that existed 20-30 years ago. Is this really sound? We need highly productive modern machines to clear airfields of snow and icing and unified special equipment to ready aircraft for flights and combat employment. In principal, we pose the issue this way: The Air Force will not accept aircraft for operation without support systems that are configured for it and without training craft that simulate all flight conditions. And here there is nothing one can do. It is dictated by life. We will have to count every kopek under the conditions of a transition to market relations. And this is proper. The people's money likes to be looked after.

I think that the personnel of the Air Force will support me in these approaches. And as a member of the CPSU Central Committee I will especially defend their interests before the government, relying on the support of communists.

Veterans Support Reforms

PM1909161590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Sep 90 First Edition p 1

[Report by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Colonel O. Nikonov: "Consultation With Veterans"]

[Text] A meeting with prominent political officers of the Armed Forces who, at various times, headed the political directorates of the branches of the armed services, the military districts, or fleets, or held high posts in the central apparatus, has been held at the the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate. Many of them have front-line experience. It was a businesslike, honest, and—as Admiral V. Grishanov, retired, put it at the end of the meeting—highly productive lesson of cooperation between generations of political officers.

Colonel General N.I. Shlyaga, chief of the Main Political Directorate, described to those present the completely novel current situation as regards the activity of political organs and party organizations, and also the full range of the manifold problems facing the leadership of the Main Political Directorate. He dwelt in detail on the preparation of draft documents on military questions on the eve of the 28th CPSU Congress and on the difficulties encountered by the groups set up to draft the outline plan for reforming political and party organs in the Armed Forces in accordance with the USSR President's decree. He made no secret of the difficulties and miscalculations which have occurred in the course of this difficult work.

"Now the whole package of proposals is with the troops," Nikolay Ivanovich emphasized. "It is being discussed. We want every serviceman to have every reason to feel a party to this matter which can, without exaggeration, be described as of fateful importance for the Army. And this meeting is just another stage in the discussion and finalization of the reform documents."

What did the veterans talk about? What do they regard as the merits and shortcomings of the documents being drafted? What worries them?

The stance of the meeting participants, and they included Colonels General M. Popkov, B. Utkin, M. Druzhinin, I. Repin, V. Silakov, all retired; and Lieutenants General I. Potapov, S. Zolotov, V. Korolenko, V. Lukinykh, all retired, and others, can be summed up in a few fundamental precepts.

These are, above all, full support for and approval of the process of the reform and deep democratization of the Armed Forces, and of their political and party organs in particular. According to their profound conviction, the renewal of the structures will contribute to the qualitative improvement of the entire ideological, political, and educational process among the troops; it will have a decisive influence on rallying collectives and enhancing discipline; and—most important—it will give priority to a high-level professionalism both in combat training and in the education of personnel because, probably for the first time, the man in uniform, the individual, finds himself so concretely and tangibly at the focus of the force field of the reform.

During the discussion many proposals and pieces of advice were put forward. The wish was expressed to make meetings of this kind a regular practice, which would make it possible to put the experience of veterans to real, productive use and absorb all that is best in what they have created over the decades.

Parents Urge Desertion From Army in Siberia

PM1909132590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Sep 90 Second Edition p 3

[Article by Lieutenant Colonel N. Fedoseyev: "Deserters, in Line with Parents' Will"]

[Text] The Siberian Military District newspaper SOVETSKIY VOIN published an open letter from Colonel General B. Pyankov, USSR people's deputy and commander of the district, to parents of servicemen doing their compulsory military service and draftees. What prompted the commander to take this unusual step?

Primarily the growing number of cases of willful departure and sometimes outright desertion from units by servicemen doing their military service, and the growing unwillingness of young men of draft age to join the Army. Here are a few figures for the first six months of the current year. The number of persons who have left the district troops has increased by 60 percent in comparison with the same period last year. More than 100 officers and warrant officers, setting aside their official duties, have scoured the country in search of the runaways. The cost of these trips totals 17,600 rubles.

Servicemen are leaving their units for various reasons. Especially military construction units. It does happen that individual servicemen simply cannot put up any longer with the humiliation and hooligan attacks by their fellow servicemen, and with the indifference of commanders and political officers who are incapable of defending their subordinates and establishing regulation order in subunits. But, generally speaking, these are isolated cases. Instead, another trend is predominating of late. Servicemen are deserting with the active assistance of their parents. Here are some examples.

The parents of seven servicemen serving in the military construction detachment under the command of officer V. Kudryashov recently arrived from Azerbaijan. The guests were cordially welcomed, shown everything that interested them, and given the opportunity to have a frank talk with their sons' fellow servicemen. Later, when they were leaving, the parents asked the command to give their sons passes to see them off. Their request was met. However, none of the seven military construction servicemen returned to the unit. The parents took their sons home with them, effectively encouraging them to desert....

Certain members of the recently established committees of servicemen's mothers are also contributing their "bit" to this campaign. Instead of guiding the young men toward discharging their military duty honestly and conscientiously, they are presenting commanders with demands in ultimatum form that their sons be allowed to return home, and are overtly inciting them to desert. In this way they are pushing their children toward committing a crime. In this context, the commander also cites the following figure in his letter. This year alone, military tribunals in the district's garrisons have already sentenced 143 people for evasion of military service in various forms. This is many more than during the first half of last year.

There is no denying that the statistics are alarming, although there is no reason as yet to describe this as a mass phenomenon. Nonetheless, the stance of certain parents is surprising, to put it mildly—knowing about the army from hearsay, and regarding it—as a result of reports by certain mass media and all types of informal organizations—as something akin to hell, they are trying by every means available to "wrench" their children from the army. They are forgetting that by doing this they are not only damaging their souls but also wrecking their future. After all, the Law on Universal Military Service has so far not been repealed and the corresponding article of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] criminal code, which makes provision for severe punishment for crimes of this kind, also remains in force.

Soviet Marshal Dies; Gorbachev Signs Obituary

LD1909123290 Moscow TASS in English 1138 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 19 TASS—Marshal of the Soviet Union Semen Kurkotkin died on September 16th, after a grave and lengthy disease at the age of 73, it was reported here today.

The obituary notice, signed by Mikhail Gorbachev, other Soviet leaders and military commanders, says that the deceased earned deep respect from everybody who knew him or served side by side with him due to his efficiency, hard working character, modesty and care for subordinates.

Kurkotkin was first deputy commander-in-chief of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany, commander of the Transcaucasian military area and commander-in-chief of the Group of Soviet Troops in Germany.

For a long time he held the post of deputy defence minister of the USSR, responsible for logistics. Important measures to develop the logistic services, enhance their combat and mobilisational readiness, and improve the military personnel's living conditions were carried out under his command. As of 1988 Kurkotkin was member of the team of general inspectors of the USSR Defense Ministry.

Baltic Republics

Council Issues Appeal on Behalf of Non-Estonians

90UN2818A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Sep 90 Second Edition p 2

["Letter to the Editor" from Estonian Interregional Council leaders: "To Whom Do We Belong?"]

[Text] What comes to mind when you hear the word Estonia? Of course the Baltic region, Tallinn, an industrious and wise people, and traditional songfests? And recently also the symbol for the struggle for independence. All of this is true and the way it is. And we who are living on Estonian soil welcome the striving for independence. We—this is not only the Estonians and the indigenous population but also Russians, Belorussians, Jews, Germans, Lithuanians, and Latvians.... briefly the so-called Russian-speaking population of the republic which today numbers 40 percent of one and a half million people. But here in Estonia we are still unable to move "together in unison." And it is not we, the non-native residents, who are to blame.

We cannot shake the feeling that we are superfluous here, foreigners. For example, how are we to react to the label "occupiers" for that is from the lexicon of edicts of the Estonian Supreme Soviet.

Young residents of the city of Kohtla-Jarve and Sillamae are appealing in an open letter to the president of the country: "We want you to understand our sense of concern and alarm and the feeling of fear for the future of our children. Our parents came here to restore the shale mines and to build a chemical combine inasmuch as Leningrad needed gas and the country needed electric power.... People were asked to come here.... And we are confident that if they knew then what awaited them here in the future no one would have left Russia, the Ukraine, and Belorussia. It now "is becoming clear" that the authority that invited them here is an "occupying one" and that it was always a burden to the Estonian people. Let us suppose that this is true. But what are we guilty of?!"

And indeed, what are we guilty of, especially our children? For example, to enroll in VUZ's [higher educational institution] and technical secondary schools of the republic this year they were supposed to go through an interview in the state language of Estonian. But how can one learn the Estonian language in Kohtla-Jarve where 70 percent of the residents are Russian-speaking, in Narva where 90 percent are Russian-speaking, or in Sillamae where there are almost no Estonians?! How can one learn a language if there is no teacher in the schools for years and if the state, which declared the priority of the language of the indigenous population, did nothing for its accelerated and free teaching as is done in all civilized countries whose experience the leaders of the republic frequently cite?! In a word, it is almost impossible for our children to enroll in Estonian VUZ's, and not to enroll means to remain without an education, without prospect of being promoted in service, and without a future.

On 23 August 1990, Estonian newspapers published "An Appeal to the People—to the Victims of the Communist Terror." What do those who signed on behalf of the committees of Estonia and Latvia want? Among them, by the way, is Pastor Hillar Hallaste, a deputy of the Estonian Republic Supreme Soviet. They want... an international tribunal—a Nurnberg Two. Over whom this time? We quote: "...it is necessary officially to declare the crimes inspired by the Bolshevik Party and implemented under its leadership as crimes against humanity with no statute of limitations, and to declare the CPSU, the KGB, and other repressive institutions of the USSR to be criminal organizations which should be eliminated entirely, and the persons who are the main perpetrators of these crimes must be tried in an international process."

The Supreme Soviet and the Government of Estonia refuse to register the Estonian Intermovement and are suspending the activity of the United Council of Labor Collectives (OSTK)—organizations that were created on the initiative of workers of the republic. Can the fact be considered coincidental that the organizations that were not recognized are precisely those that essentially unite the nonindigenous residents of Estonia? At the same time, a national independence party was immediately registered whose task is the restoration of a bourgeois Estonia of the pre-June 1940 type.

But here also are the most recent facts. Enterprises of Union subordination were united in the interbranch association "Integral." This is truly the last moral and economic support and the last hope of people of nonindigenous nationality for a more or less secure and tranquil future. The association was created for the purpose of preserving integrated relations with the national economic complex of the country, protecting all-Union and collective property, defending the workers' interests, and implementing programs for the socioeconomic development of enterprises in the interests of all residents of Estonia. Nevertheless E. Savisaar, the prime minister of the republic, spoke quite officially against the association, completely distorting its very essence. What is more, at a meeting of the heads and representatives of the government of the Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] in Tallinn, the Latvian Republic, the Lithuanian Republic, the SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] of Moldova, the Moscow Soviet of People's Deputies, the Leningrad Soviet of People's Deputies, and the Leningrad Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies, a number of documents were approved and signed, including one on the "Integral" association. The last one unconditionally condemned the creation of such associations.

There were no representatives of the Russian-speaking population at the negotiating table—our fate is being decided behind our backs without our knowledge, participation, or agreement. Does this not transform all of us into hostages of that complicated political struggle that is being waged today by leaders of different republics and social movements?

And finally, the last straw that has exhausted our patience. At a Supreme Soviet session a commission was established for negotiations with the governments of the USSR and the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]. Despite all our endeavors, the representative of the Russian-speaking population was nevertheless not included on this commission. Consequently, once again our fate is being decided behind our backs without our participation, and with no consideration of our opinion. But in the meantime the regular meeting of the Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium quite seriously discussed the question of looking into the borders with the RSFSR....

Hastily adopting premature laws and edicts, after rescinding the applicability of the Constitution and laws of the USSR on its own territory, the Supreme Soviet and the Government of Estonia transformed the republic into a state that clearly has no basis. The social and legal protection of USSR citizens of all nationalities has been legislatively eliminated on the territory of Estonia.

The position of the non-Estonian population is becoming worse and more hopeless with each day. N. Gembardzhevskiy, a resident of Kohtla-Jarve, asks through SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA: "Will the government that has freed itself from the occupation of the country pay me my pension (N. Gembardzhevskiy is a pensioner of the USSR Ministry of Defense who in his time liberated Estonia from the fascist invaders)? That is, with the secession of Estonia from the Union, will I be deprived of the source of my existence. What will happen to free medicine in the meantime in an independent Estonia? How do the Russian people in a separated and free Estonia escape a spiritual catastrophe when there is a lack of information in the mother tongue already today?"

In searching for answers to these questions, we in the Presidium of the Interregional Council of People's Deputies established a group for consultations with the leadership of the USSR and RSFSR. We came to Moscow, visited dozens of offices, met with many people, including at a very high level, and we bitterly came to understand: The USSR is not our defender today....

Our hope is with Russia. It always gave shelter to the deserted and the aggrieved, and we hope that it will not deny us this time also. Especially since the government of the RSFSR is the only one that has declared firmly that it will defend the interests of the national minorities that live outside its territories.

Our minimum program is trilateral negotiations with the USSR, the RSFSR, and our group; that is, participation without fail in those negotiations that are already ongoing. We laid out our maximum program in a note addressed to M.S. Gorbachev and A.I. Lukyanov. In it we again report on the situation that is unfolding in Estonia, and we propose that at the level of the president and the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet recognition be given to the Interregional Council of People's Deputies and Workers of the Estonian SSR as an organ of sovereignty that exercises self-government and ensures the applicability of the USSR Constitution (Basic Law) on the territory of Estonia. And second, that the participation of representatives of the Interregional Council as observers on the staff of the Soviet delegation to the CSCE in Paris (Helsinki Two) be provided for.

We do not harbor any particular illusions of success. But we want the people, on whom the resolution of our problems rests, to realize as soon as possible that tomorrow will be late. Tomorrow a Union treaty will be developed and signed—but Estonia does not intend to sign it—and we will automatically end up as total foreigners on foreign territory, completely deprived of any rights and protection on the part of the Union and Russia.

And last of all, history repeats itself. What happens to us today in Estonia can happen to any national minority which by the whim of fate ends up on foreign territory. And therefore we urgently repeat after Julius Fuchik: "People, be vigilant."

[Signed] V. Lebedev, member of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet and chairman of the Interregional Council of People's Deputies.
S. Petinov, member of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet and chairman of the Interregional Council of People's Deputies Council of Elders.
A. Sai, chairman of the Interregional Council of People's Deputies Chamber of Workers.

Estonian Interregional Council Meets 14 Sep

Session Opens in Sillamae

LD1409152790 Moscow TASS in English 1513 GMT 14 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Tallinn September 14 TASS—A session of the Inter-regional Council of People's Deputies and delegates of Estonian workers opened in Sillamae today to discuss further actions and the problem of forming delegations for talks and consultations with the leaderships of the USSR, the Russian Federation and other union republics.

The session is attended by Minister for Interethnic Relations Artur Kuznetsov, as well as guests from the Russian Federation and Lithuania.

"So far we have been mostly systematising and analysing data, creating a foundation for our further work," chairman of the council's Board of Elders People's

Deputy of Estonia Sergey Petinov told TASS. "Our delegation has been to Moscow, where we met Chairman of the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet Nikolay Gritsenko and others. We pursued the purpose of ensuring out active participation in the drafting of a new Union treaty.

"We also need a programme for transition to a market economy, which would put an end to unlawful separatist tendencies now prevailing in the republic. Today we must decide how to behave in the future so that our actions would meet the interests of all the people of Estonia and would defend those who remain there in the minority," he said.

The Inter-regional Council of People's Deputies and delegates of the republic's working people was set up late last may in the Estonian mining town of Kohtla-Jarve during the first congress of Estonian deputies of all ranks and representatives of working collectives. Its task is to ensure the observance of federal constitutional and legal acts, and to uphold regional production interests.

Steps Taken Toward Autonomy

PM1809091190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Sep 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by Interregional Council Press Service: "Defending Minority Interests"]

[Text] Tallinn—The more rapidly Estonia advances toward autonomy, the more defenseless and lacking in rights the Russian-speaking population here feel. The Interregional Council was set up in May 1990 in Kohtla-Jarve City to defend the interests of ethnic minorities.

Three months have elapsed. In this time a number of specific steps have been taken in this direction and a package of documents elaborated. Deputies and delegates of the Interregional Council's working people met 14 September in the city of Sillamae for their latest session. It adopted a decision on an action program in connection with the political situation taking shape within the republic. The commissions engaging in talks and consultations with the leadership of the USSR, the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], and other Union republics and states (nine of these commissions were set up at the session) have been instructed to take a most active part in elaborating the Union treaty.

The session in Sillamae also adopted a declaration regarding its assessment of those legislative acts adopted by the Estonian republic that do not conform with international human rights agreements and the USSR Constitution. The Interregional Council adopted a resolution on enacting the clause on referendums and also on submitting the draft of the relevant law to the Estonian republic's Supreme Soviet for examination.

Some of the session's participants favored more resolute steps to defend the rights of ethnic minorities in Estonia. It was proposed, for instance, that their own independent republic be set up on the lines of the Gagauz and Dnestr republics. But most of the deputies and delegates of the Interregional Council's working people rejected this proposal.

Estonia Airs 'New Independent' Radio Station

LD1409202290 Moscow TASS in English 2006 GMT 14 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Tallinn September 14 TASS—Nadezhda (Hope) is the name of a new independent radio broadcasting station that has gone on the air in Estonia.

People across the republic can tune in to the station in the morning and after working hours. Programmes are prepared by Intermovement activists, mainly Russian speakers residing in Estonia.

"For all our openness and pluralism," an Intermovement leader, Estonian People's Deputy Yevgeniy Kogan, told TASS, "we have no access to mass information outlets here in the republic. We understand that we cannot go on living like that".

"We feel the need to conduct work among people whom some forces seek to mislead and split. This is why an alternative radio broadcasting station was needed so badly," Kogan said.

"The USSR Communications Ministry has allotted frequencies for us to go on the air. The USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting has tentatively registered us as its branch," Kogan said.

Estonian Party Seeks Referendum on Districts

LD1909161690 Moscow TASS in English 1433 GMT 19 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn September 19 TASS—The Estonian Green Party has called for a referendum on the inclusion in Estonia of Kingisepp and Pechora Districts of Pskov and Leningrad regions of Russia. This demand was published in the PJAEVALEHI newspaper today.

The frontier problem arose after the September 2nd so-called enlarged staff exercises of the Estonian "Kaitseliit" (Defence Union) militarised public organisation, during which an attempt was made to restore the old state border of the Estonian republic, which now runs through the territory of Leningrad and Pskov regions of the Russian Federation.

The "Kaitseliit" action triggered off protests among the population of the border areas of Estonia and Russia. It was condemned by the Estonian government, which said it had nothing to do with this organisation's actions and expressed regret about the incident.

The regions demanded by "Kaitseliit" went to Estonia under the Tartu Peace Treaty, signed between Estonia and Soviet Russia in 1920. But they were returned to Russia after 1939 because of the national composition of border districts. Moreover, the territory on the other side of the Narva River has never been purely Estonian, because its indigenous population consisted of Ingermalanders. The Estonian colonisation of the area began only after 1920.

The Green Party believes that the referendum should be held only among the population of the territories returned to Russia, who are citizens of the pre-war Estonian republic or their direct descendants. The document does not say whether the will of the Russian-speaking majority would be taken into account.

Estonian Communists Called Upon To Unite

LD1909204490 Moscow TASS in English 2014 GMT 19 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn September 19 TASS—A conference of secretaries of the republic's largest primary communist party organisations called on the central committees of the two Estonian communist parties to hold the 21st unification congress on November 17.

The split in the Communist Party occurred at the congress in March, when some delegates favoured the creation of an independent Estonian communist Party, while others said it is necessary to retain ideological and organisational unity with the Soviet Communist Party.

The split does not allow communists to become a consolidating force, effectively opposing negative processes in the political and economic spheres and protecting the vital interests of working people, the decision of the conference reads.

The aims might be reached only if communists unite their efforts on the basis of decisions of the 28th Soviet Communist Party Congress, the decision reads.

Coverage of Latvian Supreme Soviet Sessions

Changes in Orders Proposed

PM1709140490 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Sep 90 First Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent Colonel M. Ziyeminsh under the rubric "Direct Line": "Change to Standing Orders. In Whose Favor?"]

[Text] Riga—Contrary to the expectations of many inhabitants of Latvia who are in a state of ignorance about their own future, the republic's parliament has included changes to the Supreme Soviet's standing orders as a priority item on the agenda of the second session. The not always profitable sittings during the last session served as the formal grounds for this decision. The point is as follows. Something on the order of 130 to 140 deputies out of the 200 so far elected—one deputy's seat is still vacant—usually participated in the work of plenary sittings. Given the existence of factions in parliament, that number of votes frequently proved insufficient to adopt a decision. At least 101 votes "for" were needed to "get it through."

Unfortunately the reality of everyday Lettish parliamentary life is such that many people's deputies simply do not turn up for session sittings, frequently without any valid reasons.

What innovations do the draft standing orders submitted to deputies include and what lies behind them? It is proposed, first, to consider parliament sittings competent if at least 20 deputies participate in them, whereas preciously 102 deputies' votes were needed for a quorum. According to another article in the standing orders, a law is adopted if more than half those voting voted for it. Consequently it will now turn out—of course, if the new statute is approved—that any law will be considered adopted if even 11 deputies voted for it. This has caused serious concern to the "Equal Rights" deputies' faction which stands in opposition to the People's Front. Will it not turn out, they say not without grounds, that one fine day only deputies of the Latvian People's Front faction will gather in parliament and adopt any law they like?

According to Article 221 of the draft standing orders, it will be possible in individual cases to annul a deputy's mandate received from voters. In precisely which cases? If, let us say, a deputy has attended less than half the working sittings during a single session. Or if, as a result of a referendum in an electoral district, more than half of all the voters have demanded the deputy's recall. At the same time a deputy's mandate is annulled at a plenary sitting of the Supreme Soviet by two-thirds of votes among the total number of deputies. As is known, the Latvian People's Front faction has precisely that majority of votes in the Latvian parliament.

Many people regard the inclusion of an article on the annulment of deputies' mandates in the standing orders as an attempt to put pressure on the intractable opposition.

Concept of Citizenship Outlined

PM1909143390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report filed from Riga by correspondent Irina Litvinova under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Who Will Receive Latvian Citizenship"]

[Text] A. Krastins, deputy chairman of the Latvian Republic Supreme Soviet, has broadcast his concept of Latvian citizenship on republic television. He had earlier briefed deputies on it.

In Krastins' opinion, the procedure for conferring Latvian citizenship should be split into several stages. It is proposed first and foremost to restore the operation of the Latvian Republic law on nationality of 23 August 1919, with amendments and additions prior to 1939.

A. Krastins also informed people of the theses relating to the application of this law: Those people who were citizens of the Latvian Republic as of 17 June 1940 and their direct descendants will be deemed citizens of the Latvian Republic, as will "all Latvians legally present at their permanent place of residence on the territory of the Latvian Republic." A. Krastins considers that only those people will elect the seimas after the de facto restoration of the Latvian Republic's independence. This organ of supreme power will adopt a new law on citizenship. Groups of people who will in no circumstance be registered as citizens of the Latvian Republic are defined in a special section of the concept. These include those who have performed service or worked in the USSR Armed Forces, the KGB, the Ministry of Internal Affairs troops, the border troops, or the prosecutor's office. Those who oppose Latvian independence and also "spread ideas of communism, fascism, Nazism, or Stalinism and foment interethnic discord or enmity" are deprived of the right to Latvian citizenship.

Deputies of the "Equal Rights" faction regard the concept discriminatory since it flagrantly violates Article 15 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights—"No one may be arbitrarily deprived of his citizenship...." At the present time everyone living in Latvia posseses Latvian citizenship under the constitution.

Anti-Speculation Measures Issued

LD1909192290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Report by correspondent N. Kasyanova from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Today deputies of the Latvian Supreme Council listened to information on the measures the government is taking to combat speculation and underground trading.

[Begin recording] [Kasyanova] Given the existing tension in providing food and industrial goods for the population, far from everything reaches the counter. At the same time, items in short supply immediately turn up on the black market at prices many times higher than the state ones. The republican government has adopted a special decision. From now on, trade in goods manufactured at state industrial enterprises or purchased through the retail network is banned in markets and cooperative commission shops. State monopoly has been announced on coffee, tea, vegetable oil, margarine, sugar, salt, alcoholic drinks, tobacco products, jewellery made of gold and other precious metals, and diamonds. Fines ranging from 500 to 10,000 rubles, with the confiscation of goods and withdrawal of trade license, have been stipulated for violating the new trade rules.

This week's plenary sittings have been focused on debates on standing orders. The parliament endorsed amendments to the republican constitution, thereby legally consolidating the decision adopted at the previous session on abolishing the people's control bodies. The factions did not come to an agreement and returned for a second, reading the amendments and addenda to the constitution on ownership right in the Latvian Republic. The deputies approved a declaration on the condemning and prohibiting anti-Semitism and genocide in Latvia. [end recording]

Anti-Semitism Denounced

LD1909193390 Moscow TASS in English 1854 GMT 19 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Galina Kuchkina]

[Text] Riga September 19 TASS—Some 80,000 local Jews and no less than 200,000 Jews from other countries were killed in Latvia during the Second World War. Citizens of this Baltic republic were among those who helped Nazis pursue a policy of terror. This fact has been admitted with profound regret in a declaration adopted by the Latvian parliament today.

It denounces anti-Semitism and genocide against Jews during the war, as well as any attempts to destabilise the situation in the sphere of inter-ethnic relations. The document says that the republic takes upon itself the care for perpetuating the memory of Jews who fell victim to genocide. It expresses hope that former compatriots, now living in Israel, will maintain contacts with Latvia.

The Latvian Supreme Soviet urged all citizens to create favourable conditions to Latvian Jews and to other national minorities for the restoration and development of their national culture, education, scientific and religious institutions, the exercise of their national and cultural autonomy. The declaration announced that "the Latvian state will not tolerate any manifestations of antisemitism and national discrimination".

At present there are some 23,000 Jews in Latvia, which makes 0.8 per cent of the population. Ten years ago the figure was 28,000. The Jewish Cultural Society is functioning in the republic. It is located in a club built on the money raised by Jews, which has now been returned to them. The Soviet Union's first Jewish secondary school is working in Latvia. Its pupils study modern Hebrew, Yiddish, the history and culture of the Jewish nation. Most of the pupils of its senior form plan to emigrate to Israel. Latvia maintains contacts with that country through the jointly created society of friendship and cultural relations.

There are three Jews among 200 Latvian legislators.

Godmanis Discusses Agreement With RSFSR

PM2009095590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Irina Litvinova under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Agreement Between Latvia and Russia"]

[Text] Riga—I. Godmanis, chairman of the Latvian Council of Ministers, and his advisers acquainted journalists with the text of an intergovernmental agreement concluded between Russia and Latvia.

The sides agreed to maintain mutual deliveries in 1991 no lower than the 1990 level. At present Latvia's negative balance of trade with regard to shipments to Russia totals 300 million rubles. I. Godmanis reckons that it will prove possible to achieve balance in the near future, given the transportation of Russian freight through Latvian ports.

The intention is for economic relations to be based on contracts to be concluded by the republics' enterprises, organizations, and establishments.

Payments for reciprocal shipments are an important item of the agreement. In 1991 the sides will make use of existing price lists, contract and world prices in rubles. There is the special stipulation that Latvia and Russia will refrain from actions which may cause one another economic damage.

Agreements will be signed before 1 November this year on various areas of economic and cultural cooperation between Latvia and Russia, including highly important deliveries of output, finance, science, population migration, and other spheres. It is envisaged that actions by law-enforcement organs will be coordinated by the Russian and Latvian Ministries of Internal Affairs.

The agreement talks about setting up a joint commission to elaborate a draft program for economic and cultural cooperation between Latvia and Russia.

Latvian Council Examines State Goods Monopoly

LD1609082790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0630 GMT 16 Sep 90

[Text] The Latvian Council of Ministers has adopted a decision on forbidding the sale at markets and in cooperative shops of goods which are produced by state enterprises or are sold in the state trade network. A state monopoly has been declared on a whole series of goods. On the list are meat, tea, alcohol, tobacco, gold, and petrol. A fine from 500 to 10,000 rubles is the penalty for violation of the trade rules, along with confiscation of items of trade and the withdrawal of the trading license.

This report from Riga will probably seem to listeners to be rich in its direct and indirect consequences which are instructive for many other areas of the country. The newspaper PRAVDA, which published this note, has decided to continue to publish materials on this theme.

Latvia Opposes Training of Iraqi Servicemen

PM2009084390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Sep 90 First Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent Colonel M. Ziyeminsh under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Ultimatum"]

[Text] Riga, 17 Sep—The Latvian Supreme Soviet Presidium has adopted a resolution "On the Discovery of Iraqi Military Servicemen on the Territory of the Latvian Republic." The preamble to the resolution notes that the Presidium possesses reliable information that Iraqi Armed Forces servicemen are training at the "USSR Navy training center in the Latvian Republic's capital" and therefore issues a "categorical protest against the presence and training of servicemen of the aggressor-state of Iraq on the Latvian Republic's territory allowed by the USSR Armed Forces command."

The Iraqi servicemen are instructed to leave the republic. Simultaneously with this categorical demand, the command of the USSR Navy and the Baltic Military District are instructed to "immediately furnish the Latvian Republic Supreme Soviet with information concerning all foreign servicemen and members of their families on the territory of the Latvian Republic."

The republic Supreme Soviet Commission for Defense and Internal Affairs is instructed by the same resolution, which comes into force "from the moment of its adoption," to carry out an immediate inspection of the USSR Navy training center.

When I asked the chief of the Supreme Soviet Press Center how to comment on this latest Presidium resolution, I was told:

"Comment on what is on paper. People abroad already know about this resolution...."

Request To Inspect Iraqi Training Rejected

LD1909083690 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 0430 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Text] The Supreme Council of Latvia has received a reply from Admiral Ivanov, commander in chief of the Baltic Fleet, to a request to allow a group of deputies to acquaint themselves with the Bolderaja training center at which Iraqi soldiers are staying. Admiral Ivanov states that an inspection there is not permissible because the training point is under the jurisdiction of the USSR Ministry of Defense. Talavs Jundzis, chief of the Supreme Council's Commission for Defense and Internal Affairs, will not however leave this question half-way. At the next session of the commission, tomorrow, this will be discussed again.

Coverage of 'Armored Vehicle' Incident in Vilnius

Vilnius Statues Surrounded

AU1909161090 Paris AFP in English 1548 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow, Sept 19 (AFP)—Soldiers and armoured vehicles Wednesday took up positions around statues of Lenin and communist officials in Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania, in defiance of a vote by the city council to have them removed, eyewitnesses reported.

Vilnius' authorities had ordered the dismantling of the statues of Lenin, Kreve Mickevicius, the Baltic republic's first communist head of government, and of a Soviet general as well as several commemorative plaques.

Eyewitnesses contacted by AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE said soldiers and war veterans moved into position around the monuments when city authorities were about to remove a plaque from the party central committee building commemorating Lithuania's first communist party secretary Antanas Snieckus.

Mr. Snieckus headed the republic's Communist Party from 1940 when Moscow annexed Lithuania until 1974.

Three armoured cars were also guarding each monument, eyewitnesses added.

Attacks on Communist Monuments

LD1909185590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1611 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Serafim Bykhun]

[Excerpts] Vilnius, 19 September (TASS)—A bas relief to a prominent political leader of the republic, Antanas Snieckus, the former first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party, was taken down in Vilnius today. All the efforts of the workers' detachment [druzhina] and soldiers to prevent this act of vandalism were unsuccessful. This is what militia major Vladimir Shein, secretary of the party committee of the republic's interior bodies of the Lithuanian Communist Party central committee on the platform of the CPSU, told the TASS correspondent. Not only was he an eye-witness of this act; he also tried to stop the youngsters.

Taking part in this action were mainly youths from extremist organizations from the Lithuanian Freedom League and the "Jaunoji Lietuva" under the guardianship of the representatives of the special militia detachment of the republic's interior ministry. [passage omitted]

Vladimir Shein further reported that similar action was undertaken at 0400 this morning to take down the monument to Vincas Mickevicius-Kapsukas, a prominent politician of the international workers' and communist movement and chairman of the provisional workers' and peasants' government of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic. But the attempt failed because the workers of the municipal establishment who arrived on the spot with the equipment refused to dismantle this monument after they had talks with representatives of the workers detachment. By the looks of it, these acts of vandalism in Lithuania have been promoted to the status of a state policy, he stressed.

Military Withdraws From Building

LD1909121490 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1005 GMT 19 Sep 90

[From the press review presented by Algis Usas]

[Excerpts] This morning Soviet armored vehicles surrounded the monuments to Lenin, Kapsukas, and Chernyakhovskiy as well as the city's municipal building, and they rushed to protect the memorial plaque to Antanas Snieckus, former Lithuanian Communist Party first secretary. [passage omitted] That was the situation at 1130 local time.

However right before the start of this program my colleague, Alvyda Mintauskyte, telephoned me and reported that this memorial plaque has already been removed. The soliders and their armored vehicles have left the scene. Although a considerable number of people are still there, it looks as if there will be no incidents and that this action, or incident, will end peacefully.

'Conservative Forces' Danger

LD1909195990 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Text] A meeting of the Supreme Council Presidium chaired by council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis was held today.

The presidium adopted a statement on actions carried out by the Soviet Union's conservative forces aimedg at destabilizing the internal situation both in Lithuania and in the Baltic region. In the statement the world's nations and democratic states are invited not to remain passive in view of the increasing danger to the Baltic states.

The presidium adopted a decision on the operation of the Ignalina nuclear power station and the development of the Snieckus settlement. The presidium formed a state commission to solve these problems. A working group to prepare a draft state control law was formed.

The presidium listened to information given by Republican General Procurator Arturas Paulauskas about violations of law and order and the solutions to them.

Landsbergis Views 'Tensions'

LD1909171290

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Russian at 1200 GMT on 19 September carries a 10-minute speech by Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council. Date and place are not given. Reception is poor.

Landsbergis begins by saying that changes which were promised five years ago have been hampered throughout this period. Now, he says, changes are taking place rapidly in spite of all the obstacles. People want democracy. He goes on: "A time of change involves many tensions. This is a result of economic problems which have remained unsolved for a long time or whose solutions have not been successful in the USSR. "Although we are adopting our own laws and restructuring our life in our own way we cannot fence ourselves away from all this. Thus, we are inundated both by inflation and the other maladies of the former socialist economy.

"There are also other tensions with different causes. These are nationality tensions which we would rather like to avoid. However these tensions are useful to somebody."

Next, Landsbergis speaks about democratically elected local governments which are now being used for political purposes: "While whipping up political passions, people's vital problems are left unsolved."

He goes on: "We also have open hostile activities against the independence of Lithuania. The CPSU is the main source of this activity and the main force which wants to preserve the old order and their old domains.

"This is a so-called party because before it did not represent any particular group or population. It was simply a ruling organization." Further, Landsbergis says that people chosen for this organization had to fit its needs and objectives. He says that this force now is hitting at the weakest point," at the point where there is least consolidation, where the differences are most pronounced" and where it is the easiest to set people against one another. This place, he says, is eastern Lithuania. Landsbergis speaks about visits paid to this part of Lithuania and the pledges of great support to them given by the visitors.

Continuing, Landsbergis says: "People are not just flying in from Moscow; similar activists flew to Moldavia from here in order to help to knock up the so-called Gagauz. Deputy Kogan, a defender of the genuine interests of the Russian-speaking population, is travelling from Tallinn to Vilnius. And all of them speculate on the fact that there are unsolved problems as if there is nothing of the kind in other places."

Speaking of the roots of the nationality problems, Landsbergis says that this problem can be traced back to the times when the "devil's pot for melting all nationalities was put on the fire by Stalin." All these nationalities, who spoke poor Russian, had to be melted into the Soviet population.

He mentions the appeal by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo to the people of Lithuania. He says the same phrases, the same vocabulary could be read in documents from Brezhnev's or Khrushchev's times: "To defend the gains and to proceed further toward glorious socialism."

Landsbergis goes on: "And when we are invited hypocritically not to escalate tension in Lithuania, then indeed this is the peak of hypocrisy because they themselves are exactly working at that. The hypocrisy of Bolshevism has been known since long ago. And what a vitality it has! Let us remember what the president of the Soviet Union said back in April. He was convinced at the Komsomol congress that borders should not be altered on any account. If we start doing that, he said, then borders all over the Soviet Union will have to be redrawn. All the nations and nationalities will get involved into fighting. And what has been done? And rather successfully?

"Luckily for Lithuania and the Baltic republics the principle of mutual understanding, aspiration for mutual understanding, and concord has been maintained here. Yet in other areas, seats of tension and conflicts are being created rather successfully. These, it seems, have to prove how indispensable the strong central power is."

Referring to President Bush's speech in Helsinki at his meeting with Gorbachev, Landsbergis says:

"There both presidents arrived at a mutual understanding about the fact that law and order cannot exist in the world if big states swallow up their neighbors. What was meant here? It is not only Kuwait but also the Kuwait which was here 50 years ago... Iraq with Saddam Husayn as leader, an ally of the Soviet Union, has been successfully colonizing Kuwait to this day [word indistinct] to set up settlements of foreigners there and later probably to demand that a referendum should be held.

"This sort of policy is known to us and these people who had been set to become settlers there are not to blame."

Speaking of Gorbachev's current policy, Landsbergis notes:

"At the moment the Soviet president either personally or through his party—and no doubt he knows the documents issued by the Politburo—speaks loudly about the necessity of stabilization. Yet what do we see in practice? Perhaps the destabilization which originates from the Kremlin is also needed in order that later one could shout about the need for stabilization and even promise drastic measures to achieve this. And these drastic measures should be justified somehow...? At the same time the Moscow press is discussing the possibility of a military coup, and not for the first time."

Landsbergis continues: "Democratic forces in Russia are hopeful, hopeful about economic reforms which, it seems, are already being adopted by the Kremlin. But they do not trust the leadership. Mass demonstrations demand that the government resign.... The president says he does not agree with such a wording of the question. This is understandable. Most likely Gorbachev is a man who is able to govern the Soviet Union if he bases himself on democracy. Fortune, maybe, played a dirty trick preserving the CPSU leadership. He suddenly realized the CPSU is becoming a party of the conservatives, a party of yesterday." Landsbergis concludes:

"We must strive to live on this piece of land, in Lithuania, according to the laws of civic consent."

Lithuania's Prunskiene Weds 'Old Friend' 7 Sep

PM1909130790 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Sep 90 p 4

[Report by V. Zarovskiy: "Prunskiene Takes Husband's Name"]

[Text] The Lithuanian RESPUBLIKA newspaper has printed an extremely laconic report. "Our congratulations: On 7 September our premier became a Tarvidiene." K. Prunskiene, chairman of the Lithuanian Council of Ministers, has married her old friend, Candidate of Sciences A. Tarvidas.

Lithuania's Bickauskas on Relations With USSR

LD1909213490 Vilnius Domestic Service in Russian 1920 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Text] Yesterday evening Deutsche Welle carried an interview with the representative of the Republic of Lithuania in Moscow, Egidijus Bickauskas. He said in particular: We do not take part in drawing up the Union treaty, but we are watching this process because it is not indifferent to us what the Soviet Union will look like—totalitarian as now, or democratic. I do not reject the possibility that we would sometime in the future examine the problem of joining the USSR. But only after Moscow recognizes our full independence and right of free choice, which Lithuania does not have at present.

To the correspondent's question on whether it is difficult for the government to maneuver between the right and left wings, Egidijus Bickauskas replied, and we quote: "Of course there are difficulties, but they are not the essential thing. At present they attempt to talk about the alleged division both in the parliament itself and between the government and parliament. On the main things, all are united. It is essential to achieve independence, and regarding what kind of independent state will Lithuania be in the future, there are different opinions and there is nothing terrifying in these disputes. I hope that the optimum way will be chosen.

More on Free Democrats

PM2009085190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Nikolay Lashkevich under the "Direct Line" rubric: "New Faction In the Lithuanian Parliament"]

[Text] Vilnius—A new faction has been registered in the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet—the Free Democrats. According to the organizers of the new parliamentary faction—well-known Lithuanian economists Academician E. Vilkas and Professor K. Glaveckas—the Free or Liberal Democrats will uphold the economic ideas of liberalism which is directly linked with the realization of the concept of a free market. In their opinion, political stability and a democratic society are a necessary condition for effective work by all market structures.

Despite the fact that the faction was formed literally a few days ago, it has already managed to earn itself the epithet "turncoat Communists" owing to some deputies' membership of the independent Lithuanian Communist Party. However, in terms of its views it is close to the positions of the so-called liberal intellectuals who are gaining political clout in Lithuanian society. The faction, together with the sizeable proportion of Lithuanian intelligentsia grouped around it, may become the foundation of a future Liberal Party, seeing that the idea of setting up such a party is, so to speak, hanging in midair.

Thus two factions have already been officially registered within the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, the first—the "Tsentr" [Center] faction—numbers roughly 20 deputies. However there is a host of unofficial factions—various groupings and currents—ranging from supporters of the Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU) to adherents of the National Party of 11 March [Natsionalnaya Partiya Odinnadtsatogo Marta].

Klajpeda Border Guards Seize Tear Gas, Munitions

PM1909135390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Sep 90 Second Edition p 6

[Report by PRAVDA correspondent Yu. Stroganov: "Racketeer's Freight. Border Guards Intercepted It"]

[Text] Klajpeda—There are various kinds of contraband: watches, ornaments, clothing. And also, perhaps, the kind that was discovered aboard the Khendrik Kuyvas which has just returned to Klajpeda from abroad—cylinders of tear gas....

Small and convenient—they fit into the hand—and supplied with businesslike instructions, it is hard to think of anything better for an insidious attack. A quiet weapon, as if especially designed for racketeering; a surprise burst in the face and a person becomes defenseless. I was told at the republic's MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] that these "silent weapons" are being used with increasing frequency by criminals. Who was to receive this consignment...?

It was discovered by border guards from the "Klajpeda" independent checkpoint. That day the ship underwent a routine inspection on returning from abroad. The attention of Sergeant V. Ovsyannikov and Junior Sergeant V. Podgorbinskiye was drawn to a ceiling hatch.

They removed the cover. There was a batch of cylinders underneath. Not that many—46—but quite enough for criminal purposes. Especially since, according to Lieutenant Colonel V. Karkots, the checkpoint commander, the flood of confiscations is swelling. Unscrupulous people are prepared to make a living from this perfidious output, they do not give a damn about the complexity of the sociopolitical situation in the republic or the tension in relations between people.

It has not as yet proved possible to establish to whom the unknown smuggler was shipping the consignment of cylinders. Perhaps it had been ordered by a gang of hoodlums. Or most probably just for the "black market." It is said that cylinders of this kind can be bought for a few hundred rubles in Vilnius' flea market in Garjunaj where there is a real uproar on nonwork days.

Border guards do not conduct examinations just to find explosives, weapons, or illegal freight. The checkpoint recently received a report that a murderer armed with a submachinegun might try to flee across the border. The troops were instructed to find him and report immediately without taking steps. A special subunit was to detain the criminal. While examining freightcars off a ferry, a border guard spotted the killer hiding and overpowered the criminal lingering there.

"We are carrying out an increasing amount of work with the same forces," the commander continued. "Of late it has been suggested in the republic that Klajpeda admit passenger ships from abroad. Of course Lithuania needs hard currency and we are ready to help. However, in our opinion, we do not have the conditions for this. Can a ship carrying 350 passengers really dock at a commercial mooring?"

But instead of business cooperation, the situation is being fueled. Many political questions have to be solved during talks between Moscow and Vilnius, however the anti-Army sentiments that are being kindled are already making themselves felt today. Many officers and ensigns go to work in civvies for that reason. They have not been allocated apartments for a long time now. It is hard for their wives to find jobs. I was also told of the same problems at the border unit which protects our seashores.

"We detained a foreign container with hunting cartridges aboard the Marat Kozlov," V. Karkots said. "A hullabaloo was stirred up against us: We had allegedly deprived hunters of their beloved occupation. But there was no mention of the fact that authorization is required from the USSR MVD for receipt of this kind of freight. There had been no such authorization. What is more, I thought the composition of the consignment strange. Only 12,000 of the 240,000 cartridges contained grapeshot. The rest were bullets of 8.67 and 6.2mm caliber. Where have so many elks and wild boar come from in Lithuania?"

I do not think that it is ultimately a matter of the commander's doubts. Something else is at issue—the conflict that is smoldering owing to the complex political processes taking place in the republic.

But there will be talks and there may probably be decisions which will relieve the tension in relations. They may affect Lt. Col. V. Karkots' work. But at any rate, whatever political decisions are adopted, I am sure that no honest people are interested in seeing the racketeers' freight reaching its destination.

U.S.-Based Official Speaks at Lithuanian Council

LD1809122390 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0756 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Remarks by Dr. Bobelis, chairman of the U.S.-based Chief Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania, at the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius on 18 September—live]

[Excerpts] Thanks to the American Lithuanians a bill was adopted by the U.S. Senate some months ago whereby $300 million have been allocated for rebuilding East European states. A large sum in this project has also been alloted for rebuilding Lithuania. The bill passed through the U.S. Senate rather easily, however it got stuck in the House of Representatives. It got stuck because rumors were spread that Lithuanians have not yet completely reached the maturity to be free and independent.

In this respect harm was also done by our brothers the Latvians. Latvian Prime Minister [as heard] Jurkans said at a news conference that Latvians had not yet reached the maturity to be a democratic state, that first of all they wanted to get their democratic parties and democratic development right, and only then would they start aspiring for full independence.

Therefore, it is of great importance that our activities are coordinated. [passage omitted]

At the moment there is a new turn, a new inclination in the policies of the United States toward the Baltic states. [passage omitted] I was informed that we are to have a sitting in the White House where U.S. policy toward the Baltic states will be re-examined. A person who had been working at the State Department dealing purely with the Baltic states and whose post had been temporarily suspended now has been reinstated, he can analyze matters in the Baltic states and present them in a new form. Next week, after our meeting in Washington, new projects and new ideas how the issue of Lithuania will be discussed at the upcoming Paris conference may emerge. [passage omitted]

Reporter Describes Attitude of Lithuanian Papers

LD1809175390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1408 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Report from Vilnius by station correspondent Elena Kurklietyte conducted with unidentified in-studio announcer—live]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Now, live from Vilnius is our correspondent Elena Kurklietyte. Good day.

[Kurklietyte] Good day.

[Announcer] Hello, Elena. What are Lithuania's papers writing about today? Do they have their finger on the pulse of the times, and how objectively do they reflect events? Start with the most popular paper.

[Kurklietyte] The independent newspaper RESPUBLIKA has recently become the most popular paper. This will be confirmed by subscriptions to this publication for 1991.

[Announcer] Fine. Let us see which is the least popular.

[Kurklietyte] There are dozens of such publications, but some figures testify eloquently to the unpopularity of some of them. For instance, the state paper LIETUVOS AYDAS, or THE GOVERNMENT NEWSPAPER, piles up in the kiosks. In July nearly 60,000 copies went unsold; in August more than 22,000. Half of the copies of the Lithuanian-language newspaper TARYBU LIETUVA, or SOVIET LITHUANIA, are also unsold. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] What does the Republic's government and Supreme Soviet think about autonomy for Salcininkay Rayon?

[Kurklietyte] As we have already reported in our broadcasts, the 21st congress of the Communist Party of Lithuania on the CPSU platform [CPL (CPSU)] ended recently. The Russian-language newspaper EKHO LITVY commented on the congress as follows. The craving for strong leadership from Moscow was discussed in Salcininkay where, prior to the congress, the rayon party aktiv had a meeting with the Moscow delegation.

Today the same newspaper carries a speech by Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis, on Lithuanian television, in which he gives an assessment of the appeal by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo to Communists in Lithuania. Of relevence here is the issue of eastern Lithuania which, in Landsbergis' view, could be used in future talks with the USSR as a territorial obstacle, a territorial torpedo, for the issue of non-recognition of the Lithuanian state. Landsbergis says, and I quote: "Behind this event in eastern Lithuania stands the same old CPSU and its Central Committee. What we are now seeing is representatives of the CPSU Central Committee and other functionaries instigating and luring people in eastern Lithuania, while at the same time putting on a show of concern."

Here is another opinion: The resolution on Lithuanian statehood adopted at the 21st congress of the CPL (CPSU) states that the Lithuanian Communist Party campaigns for a socialist Lithuania enjoying full and genuine state sovereignty in resolving its problems. The sovereign Lithuanian socialist state must guarantee all the peoples of the republic, in those areas where they are concentrated, the right to determine ways and forms of national revival and self-determination themselves.

Incidentally, eastern Lithuania has also been in the news recently for another event, described by the republican newspapers as an act of vandalism. The papers have published a statement by the Lithuanian culture fund, the (?Vilnie) Society, and other organizations. The statement says: As a result of actions by malicious forces seeking to destabilize the political situation in Lithuania and set people of different nationalities living here against one another, a place sacred to Lithuania and all Christians has been desecrated—the peak of Medininkay Hill was destroyed by a tractor and a memorial stone for the coronation of King Mindaugas, which was erected with public money, was pulled from its pedestal and smashed.

Some political forces are attacking one set of monuments and others are attacking another, but this does honor to neither camp.

[Announcer] Yes, I agree. What is the general tone of the newspapers. Is it critical or hysterical?

[Kurklietyte] Lithuanian papers are full of reports about speculation and the disappearance of the most essential goods. There is one other feature of the articles which I should mention. They contain a great deal of irony and even sarcasm. [passage omitted]

RSFSR

Coverage of RSFSR Supreme Soviet Proceedings

USSR Government Resignation Urged

LD1909132390 Moscow World Service in English 1300 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Text] The session of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation has called for the resignation of the USSR Government led by Nikolay Ryzhkov. One hundred and fifty-four deputies of the Russian parliament supported the resignation motion; four deputies voted against it. However, the session passed no document on the issue because the deputies had before them several wordings of the resolution and none of them was passed as a whole. A commission was formed to finalize the resolution and bring it before the deputies.

Speakers during the discussions said that the present USSR Government was unable to take the country out of its profound crisis, nor could it guarantee Russia's sovereignty. The government lost popular confidence. The deputies proposed that the USSR Supreme Soviet accept the resignation of the entire government and take appropriate measures to form a new government of popular confidence.

Proposals also were made for consulting the Union republics on the make-up of the national cabinet.

Agenda of 19 Sep Proceedings

LD1909204890

Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1820 GMT on 19 September begins broadcasting a report on the 19

September proceedings of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin in Moscow.

At 1821 GMT Yeltsin opens the session. There will be 20 minutes of questions from the floor.

At 1822 GMT a deputy complains about the slow progress in creating a Russian television service.

At 1824 GMT Medvedev, from Mordova, speaks on the state of emergency there which has banned local soviets' meetings in order to prevent criticism of local leaders. Saransk Soviet met and expressed no confidence in various Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic leaders.

At 1828 GMT Yeltsin reads out the day's agenda.

At 1829 GMT Gasparyan makes a speech about the aftermath of Chernobyl. He says that there should be urgent measures to protect people living in Russian areas affected by the catastrophe. Mistakes have been made in measures taken so far; those responsible should be punished. Meanwhile, party leaders occupy luxurious villas which could be put to better use. Medical staff working there should be paid better. More efforts must be put into helping the victims.

At 1841 GMT Yeltsin puts to the vote the law on creating a state committee for eliminating the consequences of the Chernobyl disaster. It is passed.

At 1843 GMT Silayev speaks in favor of the candidate for the post of RSFSR minister of health, Kalinin.

At 1845 GMT Kalinin speaks. Yeltsin puts the candidature to the vote. Kalinin is accepted.

At 1846 GMT Krasavchenko proposes a motion of no confidence in the Union government.

At 1850 GMT Bokov opposes the above motion.

At 1854 GMT (Maley) favors voting for the motion as the USSR Government is hindering the development of Russia.

At 1858 GMT, at the evening session, this issue continues to be discussed. Khasbulatov, in the chair, puts it to the vote. It is passed. The vote is: 154 for; 4 against; and 18 abstained: 70.1 percent voted.

At 1900 GMT Poltoranin speaks on the matter of the publication of a newspaper for the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. Attempts have been made to regain control of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA from the CPSU. Negotiations are being held with party officials on acquiring the MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA printing facility.

At 1906 GMT Poltoranin tells of the negotiations to acquire television broadcasting facilities. Union authorities are being obstructive.

At 1908 GMT a deputy, speaking from the floor, opposes celebrating the November revolution anniversary. His proposal has 50 signatures.

New Free Enterprise Zones Added

PM1909125790 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Sep 90 Second Edition p 1

["Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Resolution on the Creation of Free Enterprise Zones"]

[Text] In amplification of the 14 July 1990 Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet resolution "On the Creation of Free Enterprise Zones" the RSFSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. To accept the proposals by the Altay Kray, Kemerovo and Novgorod Oblasts, and Zelenograd (Moscow) City Soviets and the Jewish Autonomous Oblast Soviet on declaring their territories free enterprise zones.

2. That the RSFSR Council of Ministers, in conjunction with local soviets, should elaborate a draft resolution on the legal status of the aforementioned free enterprise zones and, taking into account the opinion of RSFSR Supreme Soviet chambers' commissions and committees, submit it for examination by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

[Signed] RSFSR Supreme Soviet Chairman B.N. Yeltsin.
[Dated] RSFSR House of Soviets, Moscow, 13 September 1990.

Chernobyl Discussed at Session

LD1909110190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 19 Sep 90

[From the "Vremya" Newscast]

[Text] Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet deputies held a plenary session today. The deputies devoted the first 30 minutes to the agenda's various section where they voiced proposals and remarks on various issues and asked the presidium for explanations.

Then Deputy Gasparyan, chairman of the subcommittee for Radioactive Security of the Committee for Issues of Ecology and the Rational Use of Natural Resources, asked a question about the 1990-95 state program to eliminate the consequences of the Chernobyl catastrophe on the territory of the Russian federation. Deputies spoke with pain and concern about the consequences of that catastrophe, saying that the program to eliminate its consequences was not being properly fulfilled everywhere.

At the morning session, the deputies adopted a law on a state committee to eliminate the consequences of the accident at Chernobyl Nuclear Electric Power Station and a draft decision on a state program to eliminate the consequences of the Chernobyl catastrophe on the territory of the RSFSR for the years 1990-95. The session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet is continuing its work.

Chernobyl Committee Established

LD1909162290 Moscow TASS in English 1513 GMT 19 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Lev Aksenov, Yuriy Kozmin, and Pavel Ostrov]

[Text] Moscow September 19 TASS—The Russian parliament decided to set up a republican state committee under the government of the Russian Federation to combat the aftermaths of the Chernobyl disaster. It will be based not in Moscow, but in Bryansk, central Russia, a region most affected by the explosion.

Although more than four years have elapsed since the tragic events in Chernobyl, their consequences are still present. As noted in the report by Fyodor Gaporyan, chairman of the sub-committee for radiation security of the parliamentary Committee on Ecology and Rational Use of Natural Resources, more than one billion roubles have already been spent to deactivate contaminated territories in Russia. But careful radiation checks have still to be carried out in many districts of the Russian Federation. "Particularly dangerous," he stressed, "is the fact that many children are sick in those areas and that agricultural foodstuffs, grown on contaminated soil, are being shipped to other regions of Russia".

Gasparyan believes that the programme to liquidate the Chernobyl consequences should call to answer the officials that did not take necessary measures.

In addition to the bill to set up the new committee, the Russian parliament adopted a decision "On the state programme to eliminate the consequences of the Chernobyl catastrophe in the territory of the Russian Federation for 1990-1995". The document says that "a very tense socio-political situation has arisen in contaminated areas due to slow measures and a part of the population's mistrust of local and central authorities due to this".

The Supreme Soviet authorised the Russian Procurator's Office to consider the question of calling to answer officials guilty of concealing data on the radioactive contamination of territories caused by the accident at the Chernobyl atomic power plant.

Health Minister Nominated

LD1909205690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1843 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Remarks by RSFSR Council of Ministers Chairman Ivan Silayev at RSFSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin, Moscow, on 19 September—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrade chairman, esteemed members of the Supreme Soviet of the republic! Allow me to put forward for the post of Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic minister of healthcare the candidature of Comrade Kalinin, Vyacheslav Ivanovich, for your study. This, today's presentation, has been preceded by a difficult course of elections of candidates, selection according to this or that indication of professional aptitude, civic stances, and ability to set up a program and head a health program for the republic. There were all kinds of difficulties, but in the final result we arrived at mutual consensus. By us I mean the government and the appropriate committees and commissions, including first and foremost the Supreme Soviet committee on healthcare from whose selection of candidates—and there were five or six—the candidature of Comrade Vyacheslav Ivanovich Kalinin is most expedient and suitable for the new tasks in the field of healthcare.

You, esteemed comrade members of the Supreme Soviet, have the appropriate information as to who he is and what stages of life and career he has gone through. This is also put before us. As well as his program which, if you allow, he will (?not) expound, let me put forward his candidature, with the support of the commissions and committees, for your study and ask you to resolve the matter in a positive way. Thank you.

Health Minister Confirmed

LD1909115490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Report by correspondent Lyudmila Semina]

[Excerpt] This is what has happened this morning at the Russian parliament. A decision has been adopted on eliminating the consequences of the Chernobyl accident on the republic's territory. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic minister of health has been confirmed. He is Vyacheslav Ivanovich Kalinin. Discussion has begun, and will continue after the break, of relations with the Union government. At issue are both the need for new structures of power and the fate of the Ryzhkov government.

In another room a meeting is taking place between the leadership of the Russian parliament and government and the commanders of military okrugs on the republic's territory. [passage omitted]

Yeltsin May Set Up Own KGB

LD1909124190 Moscow TASS in English 1205 GMT 19 Sep 90

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Pavel Ostrov]

[Text] Moscow September 19 TASS—The Russian Federation will, possibly, set up its own state security committee (KGB).

Russian President Boris Yeltsin told a plenary session of the Russian parliament today that he discussed the issue with Soviet KGB Chief and member of the Presidential Council Vladimir Kryuchkov, who consented, in principle, to support the creation of a Russian KGB.

By the decision of the First Congress of Russian Deputies, the issues of defence and state security were devolved on the Union. However, Yeltsin said today that if deputies adopt a respective decision, a bill to form a republican KGB could be drafted by the Congress of Russian People's Deputies, scheduled for November. He said this KGB would be subordinate to the Russian Government or parliament.

Once the bill is passed, Russia and Union bodies could sign an agreement to delineate the functions of the Union and republican committees.

19 Sep Proceedings Summarized

LD1909195590 Moscow TASS in English 1819 GMT 19 Sep 90

[By TASS parliamentary correspondents Lev Aksenov, Yuriy Kozmin, and Pavel Ostrov]

[Text] Moscow September 19 TASS—The Russian parliament adopted a law today on the creation of the Russian Republican Committee for the Elimination of Consequences of the Chernobyl Accident and resolutions on a special programme to tackle this problem. The legislators continued the formation of the republican government. They approved the candidature of Vyacheslav Kalinin, 50, a professional physician, to the post of minister of public health of the Russian Federation. During the past several years he was in charge of one of the main departments at the Soviet Ministry of Public Health. Judging by his programme, Kalinin favours the introduction of the insurance public health system in Russia.

Today's plenary meeting also discussed a vote of non-confidence to the Nikolay Ryzhkov government.

By the majority of votes the Russian parliament voted, in principle, for suggesting a resignation to the union government; 154 legislators of 176 taking part in the voting voted for it.

However, after a stormy debate a corresponding resolution was not adopted. The legislators decided to bring together all amendments and submit the final document to the Russian Supreme Soviet.

The plenary meeting discussed today newspapers of the Russian Supreme Soviet. Legislators approved, in principle, a draft resolution expressing "disagreement with the present course of the editorial board of the SOVIETSKAYA ROSSIYA newspaper" and stressed "the urgent need for mass media to cover the Russia's reforms programme." The parliamentary committee for mass media should resolve in a week's time the problem of replacing the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA editor-in-chief with a new one. At present this post is being held by Russian People's Deputy Valentin Chikin. The sponsors of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA are the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation, as well as the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee.

The resolution assigned First Deputy President of the Republican Parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov and Russian Minister of Mass Media Mikhail Poltoranin to organise the publication of newspapers of the Russian Supreme Soviet, beginning with October 1990.

Since many amendments were made during the discussion of the situation with newspapers, a final resolution on this issue is expected to be adopted at one of the forthcoming sessions.

Agenda Outlined for 20 Sep RSFSR Supreme Soviet

Resignation To Be Considered

LD2009075790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0400 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] There is a routine joint sitting of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet chambers today. It is expected that draft laws on the status of RSFSR people's deputies and the status of local soviets people's deputies will be presented. The draft law on local soviets and local self-government is also ready for its first reading. Yesterday deputies voted for the resignation of the Union government. It is expected that they will return to this matter in order to adopt an appropriate address to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

USSR Unable To Meet 'Obligations'

LD2009080690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0735 GMT 20 Sep 90

[TASS parliamentary correspondents Lev Aksenov, Yuriy Kozmin, and Pavel Ostrov report]

[Text] Moscow, 20 Sep—The Supreme Soviet of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] today adopted by an overwhelming majority a decision which advocates the resignation of the entire government of the USSR.

The decision states that the Union government "is not capable of getting the country out of the most profound economic crisis". In the opinion of the Russian members of Parliament, the USSR Government "is not able to fulfill its constitutional obligations to defend the sovereignty of the RSFSR" and "does not enjoy the confidence of the broad masses of the people". The Russian Parliament has proposed that the USSR Supreme Soviet "adopt urgent measures to form a government of national trust".

Boris Yeltsin, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, told members of Parliament that this document would be sent to the country's Parliament.

The resolution, "On the Resignation of the USSR Government," was voted for by 164 members of Parliament. Sixteen people abstained and one member of the Supreme Soviet voted against.

Silayev Holds Meeting on Armed Forces in RSFSR

RSFSR Does Not Seek Own Army

LD1909142690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Text] A meeting took place in Moscow today between Silayev, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers, and representatives of the Armed Forces. The meeting was devoted to the whole range of questions linked to the functioning of the Army and Navy in connection with the economy's transfer to market relations. Taking part in the meeting were USSR and RSFSR people's deputies, leaders of a number of krays and oblasts, commanders-in-chief, members of the USSR Armed Forces' military councils, heads of central and main directorates of the USSR Ministry of Defense, commanders and members of military councils of military okrugs and fleets, heads of military educational establishments, and heads of defense enterprises.

It was underlined at the meeting that Russia, having declared its sovereignty, does not seek to establish its own military formations. That is why the republican Supreme Soviet and the government are interested in all-round and mutually beneficial cooperation with all military bodies and military formations which are stationed on the territory of the republic.

Marshal of the Soviet Union Yazov, USSR minister of defense and member of the Presidential Council, and Khasbulatov, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, took part in the meeting and made speeches at it.

Yazov: 'No Basis' for Coup Rumors

LD1909184290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Video report by correspondent Stepanyuk on a conference held between Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic government leaders and USSR Armed Forces representatives in Moscow on 19 September, including recorded remarks by Russian Council of Ministers Chairman Ivan Silayev and USSR Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The leadership of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation held a conference today with representatives of the Armed Forces on the role of the Army in economic reform and its development under market conditions.

[Stepanyuk] This was a regular meeting following the discussion that took place recently with the directors of industrial enterprises of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. And once again the leaders of Russia's parliament and government—Comrades Silayev, Khasbulatov, and Yavlinskiy—are trying to bring home the purport of the planned reforms and their vision of the Army in these processes in as open and popular way as possible. Of course no one is saying that the representatives of the Armed Forces welcome the market with enthusiasm. Otherwise applause would hardly have resounded in the hall when attacks upon the Russian parliament, which has adopted a program for transition to the market, were made from the platform.

But at least there is understanding that these processes are irreversible. At least for many it is clear that our pride, the Army, is already beyond our means in its present form and that such a burning army problem as housing for officers, for example, is not going to be solved by the local soviets alone. Alongside the provision of free apartments a housing market must be created and every citizen, including the officer, must be given the opportunity to buy and sell his apartment freely and whenever he wants.

We remember with great gratitude the servicemen for their help in bringing in the harvest and for the roads that have been built. Nevertheless the people's deputies of Russia showed understanding for the commanders of the troops of various military districts who spoke here when they demanded that the Army must not be turned into an economic appendage of the local bodies.

The links that have existed hitherto between the military and the civilian collectives have to be reviewed in a cardinal way, Comrade Silayev stressed, adding up the results.

[Begin Silayev recording] You have given us quite a lot of food for thought, including and in the first place the commission which has to work out in detail the various sections of the program that are linked with social problems, and I promise that we will do this. But we also appeal to you to think in a present-day fashion, not to look back, not to frighten each other, and particularly not to try to overturn each other's positions. We call upon you to take radical actions, energetic actions, and to take an active part and actively cooperate with the Russian government and the Supreme Soviet. [end recording]

[Stepanyuk] Questions outside the agenda also cropped up. For example, the minister of defense was asked whether there had been any deliberate movements of troops close to Moscow, taking into consideration today's extremely tense situation."

[Begin Yazov recording] Movements have indeed taken place. A regiment arrived from Ryazan to prepare for a parade, and at the request of the Moscow Oblast Soviet we have allocated troops to help in the harvesting of potatoes and other vegetables. Evidently these troops have carried out some movements in the oblast. No one has made, is making, or intends to make any deliberate movements to intimidate anyone, or to create groupings of troops for antistate or other activity. We are indeed a part of the people. We serve the people. All the information that is being distributed in the press and on television about the military people preparing a coup has no sense whatsoever; it has no foundation and no basis. [end recording]

Military, Economic Issues Viewed

LD1909174790 Moscow TASS in English 1724 GMT 19 Sep 90

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Lev Aksenov]

[Text] Moscow September 19 TASS—The Russian Government leaders and the top commanders of the Soviet Armed Forces met here today to discuss aspects of the plan for the transition to a market economy, approved by the Russian Supreme Soviet parliament.

In his opening address at the meeting, Russia's Prime Minister Ivan Silayev recalled that the Russian Federation which proclaimed its state sovereignty, delegated to the union one of the vital functions—that of defence and the activity of the Armed Forces.

But as a considerable part of the country's Armed Forces is deployed on Russian territory, he said, "interaction between the civilian and Army leadership acquires an extremely great significance."

Although Russia has no intention to create its own military structures, Silayev said, "its government will include a state public security committee which will interact with the USSR State Security Committee and the USSR Defence Ministry."

The meeting was briefed on the 500 days programme, approved by the Russian parliament as a basis for the transition to a market economy, by Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, one of the plan's compilers.

Soviet Defence Minister, Marshal Dmitriy Yazov told TASS that the gathering was "useful," "although not all presentations can be accepted," he said.

Yazov stressed that "a common approach to the solution of complex problems can be worked out as a result of such exchanges of views."

Silayev Views Military Issues

LD1909223190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Comrade Silayev took the floor at the end of the meeting. He also answered a number of questions put to him by the participants. This is what the head of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] government said, among other things:

[Begin Silayev recording] We wanted to know what the Army based on RSFSR territory cares about today, and with what problems and what issues the troops are concerned. To a certain extent we have managed to understand this. In many respects, evidently, we must make it part of our intentions to decide how we will work together. But I imagine that none of you thinks that the Army will remain something special and independent: let market passions rage, as it were, while we are defending our homeland. And the better we prepare for this reform, and as they say the greater care we take in our approach to the situation, the greater will be the effect in society as a whole and in our Armed Forces in particular.

I would like to continue my final conversation with you by answering a number of questions. Here is an interesting note by Comrade (Baradulin) commander of a Northern Fleet ship. He asks several questions and I will dwell on one of them. It is peace time and yet the Northern Fleet lives on tinned food because there have been no vegetables since spring. As the prime minister, can you help the fleet?

I do not believe it to be the prime minister's function to obtain tinned food and distribute it among various appropriate categories of people. It is the task of the government to create the economic, organizational, and other preconditions which corresponding layers of our society could use to be able to work with a great degree of independence and with maximum efficiency.

And talking of guarantees, we have in mind not only guarantees for those who have little protection but guarantees for those who are able to actively show their worth in the new market conditions and to create material conditions which will lead to a situation where the government will have to think day in day out where and how many tonnes of sugar must be sent, and from whom they must be taken away.

Relations in the Army and Navy must have an economic basis. If the market is to exist in the country, then the Army must change over to contracts. This is a requirement for all young officers and this is what I would like to welcome in the note of comrade Baradulin.

A military department is being created in the Government of the USSR. Will it orders be compulsory for the military units on the RSFSR's territory?

First, we are not setting up any military department. The department which is being created is civilian and is called the committee for the protection of public security. We had the option of setting up the committee for national [rus natsionalnyy] security, but we have too many nationalities. Therefore the word national would not be... [changes thought] but the committee will not be operating on a voluntary basis. It is the RSFSR's government organ which will be carrying out work for the provision of public security and for interaction with the Army and its subdivisions regarding all issues affecting the interests of the RSFSR. We must energetically move toward shaping a certain treaty with the central government and with the defense ministry. [end recording]

Yeltsin Sends Message to Partnership Congress

PM1909145590 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Sep 90 Second Edition p 5

[Message by B. Yeltsin to "International Partnership Initiative" congress]

[Text] To the participants of the First International Congress of the "International Partnership Initiative."

Allow me to express cordial thanks to the organizers of the first International Congress of the "International Partnership Intitiative" for the invitation to participate in its work.

Unfortunately, I will not be able to take up the invitation because I have to deal with extremely urgent business. I wholly share your noble aspirations and I express the hope that the positive and progressive changes that are taking place in a world experiencing renewal, above all in the peaceful "European Home" that is being created, will contribute to the further deepening of constructive cooperation between states.

The Russian Federation, for its part, will actively participate in the integration processes that have taken shape in Europe for the good of the world community.

I wish the congress participants fruitful work in strengthening interstate and general human relations and developing new forms of international partnership.

Respectfully yours,
B. Yeltsin.

Silayev Reports on 500 Days Economic Program

PM1909105190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Sep 90 First Edition p 2

["Informed Sources" report by V. Shirokov: "Relying On Trust"]

[Text] Moscow—What will Russia be like in 500 days' time? What will we be like when the rigid deadline indicated in the Russian program for the transition to market relations has been reached? I. Silayev, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers, tried to give answers to these difficult questions during a working meeting with journalists.

It was not a press conference in the classic sense—there was a frank discussion and, if you like, a consultation with the people heading newspaper and journal social and economic policy sections. The Russian premier not only tried to persuade the journalistic fraternity of the advantages of the Shatalin-Yavlinskiy program, but urged people to give their impressions and voice their doubts which identify over and over again its strong and weak points.

We are accused of presiding over the disintegration of the Union, I. Silayev said. It is not true. Without waiting for the conclusion of a Union treaty, which in itself is a long and complex process, we are proposing above all an economic agreement with each of the republics. This agreement presupposes a high degree of autonomy for them, but at the same time responsibility for the integrity of the common economic space, the all-Union market.

Incidentally, the two first principles of the Shatalin-Yavlinskiy program are as follows: "Economic union is based on the principles of equality of the Union's members—the sovereign states that are voluntary members of it. The foundation of the economy is the entrepreneur and the enterprise who increase national wealth by increasing their own property. The state's main role in the economy is to pursue a macroeconomic policy, form the market infrastructure, and provide citizens with social protection."

The republics are free to join the Union or leave it, provided of course they fulfill obligations voluntarily assumed as is the accepted practice all over the world between respectable partners.

By creating conditions for free entrepreneurial activity, the program's authors hope to breathe life into the intellect and enterprise of every citizen. To what extent this will be achieved remains to be seen....

Journalists are meticulous, suspicious folk. They immediately noticed that the sections of the Shatalin-Yavlinskiy program devoted to the agro-industrial complex and social protection measures were not very convincing. I. Silayev's response was that the document has not been finalized. Work is continuing on it and the sections are being amplified and enriched. Indeed, amendments will probably be made and points clarified in the course of the program's implementation. The Supreme Soviets of the other republics, where the program will also be "run in," will make their contributions too.

As for social protection, the "shield" of social guarantees must cover not only the badly off strata of the population but all those who could temporarily be left without work. That is, these social protection measures must above all strengthen the citizen's personal desire for a better living standard. But this section of the program does need strengthening, I. Silayev frankly admitted.

The free economic zones which are planned for the territory of the RSFSR could be the proving ground for the transition to market relations. They must not be multiplied ad infinitum because that might put many currencies into circulation and lead to customs and other barriers.

The implementation of the proposed program requires an investment of trust by the people and vigorous action by the government and all managerial structures. As for the risk, it is unavoidable although the program does contain reserves to provide "insurance" against the failure of a stage of the program. The cooperation of the people and the state and reciprocal moves by them are also needed: Not only must people tighten their belts, but the state must sharply reduce its expenditure on military equipment, major construction projects, and so on.

The main emphasis of the Shatalin-Yavlinskiy program is on economically free enterprises which must be removed from sectoral jurisdiction. Of course this will require a change in state structures, their reduction and reorientation to coordinating functions. Indeed some enterprises could lose out, but obviously some kind of temporary fund would be created to support them. It could help them retool production, retrain cadres, and attain acceptable market standards.

At the end of the meeting there was a question which, I am sure, struck a chord in the heart of everyone present: But what if it does not work? What if the program fails? After all, this has happened time and again in the country's history.

Well, I. Silayev replied, it was we who imposed such a tight schedule of 500 days to program, and it was we who marked out the precise stages and in so doing placed ourselves in the firing line. The problems we foresee are not so much material as psychological—we are by nature conservatively minded and it is difficult to change this. But we are counting on people putting faith in us....

Silayev Claims Economic Changes Necessary

LD1909133290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0900 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Interview with Ivan Silayev, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, by unidentified correspondent; date and place not given; from the "Business Courier" program—recorded]

[Text] [Question] What is your attitude to this clash, the rivalry between the two programs?

[Silayev] I see this in a negative light because I think that the principle of respect for the president's instructions has been violated. Indeed the president, on the basis of a decision by Gorbachev, Yeltsin, Ryzhkov, and Silayev, issued an instruction according to which a program had to be drawn up in conjunction with representatives of the union government. Unfortunately, the representatives did not take part in drawing up this program; work had already been under way continuously for a whole month, and during that time they worked on their own program. If from the very outset the work had been done in strict accordance with the president's decision, then perhaps there would not be the problem there is today of which program the USSR Supreme Soviet opts for. There would perhaps have been a single program. However, I cannot see that we can relinquish the fundamental principles in the Shatalin-Yevlinskiy program.

There are several of these principles, but I will name two. The first is that the Shatalin-Yevlinskiy program takes into account the views and interests of the Union republics in accordance with their declarations on sovereignty, and Section III of the program is drawn up jointly. All the Union republics—with the exception of Estonia—developed it. It turned out to be more complicated because it reflects and takes into account the issues of the Union republics. This section signifies a fundamental change in the political and economic situation, that the main shall we say load of responsibility and volume of work for implementing the program lies with the republics. That means that the republics should get considerably different and bolder powers than has been the case until now.

I would simply recall that the second part of this program is a package of laws and other legal acts which should provide for the normal funcitoning of this program. For example, 16 of the 21 laws have to be adopted by the Union republics. This also means that the main volume of work lies in the republics. Consequently, this will be the normal way.

The second thing—and one hears this at the moment—is with what should the reforms start: with price rises, or just the stabilization of the economy, strengthening the ruble, and not allowing prices for the most important commodities—first and foremost foodstuffs—to rise? Here too we have fundamental differences, but we will not retreat from either principle.

[Question] So you think that no compromise between the two programs is possible because of these fundamental differences?

[Silayev] Yes, that is exactly what I think.

[Question] Ivan Stepanovich, what is your personal attitude to the question of confidence in the Union government?

[Silayev] I would base my view on the fundamentals of the program. There is no place in the program for today's structure of all-Union bodies in their current form. It contains absolutely different principles, and therefore, should this program be adopted by everyone, including the USSR Supreme Soviet, then it is actually inevitable that the structure of the central government has to be reviewed.

Further on Silayev's Tour of Arkhangelsk Oblast

PM1909141590 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Sep 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Arkhangelsk Sojourn"]

[Text] "The Russian government is not in a position to help the region with resources, but we are giving you economic freedom and by using it you will create your own conditions for a proper life," I.S. Silayev, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers, said at a meeting with the Arkhangelsk aktiv and body of deputies.

At the oblast teaching hospital, where representatives of the city's medical establishments had gathered, the Russian government head assured the physicians that social protection would be provided in the future market conditions. "There can be no question of the abandonment of social gains in the sphere of public health—available, free services," I.S. Silayev said. He stressed that medicine in Russia would be developed and maintained not only by the state, but through the creation of favorable conditions for investment, production of medicines and medical equipment, and construction of hospitals. There would also be a tax concessions mechanism.

At the Solombalskiy sawing and wood working combine—one of the sector's biggest—I.S. Silayev had a meeting with the working people of the oblast timber complex. Only 55 percent of the Solombalskiy combine's production capacities are being utilized, yet thousands and thousands of cubic meters of round timber are being taken out of the oblast for sawing. I.S. Silayev gave assurances that "we will look into this economic absurdity." He also criticized the existing forest use structure in the oblast and the wasteful timber felling and processing techniques that are upsetting the ecological balance.

The Russian government head suggested that they look to the best world experience, seriously consider breaking the monopoly structures in the timber industry complex, and be more decisive in orientating production toward consumer goods. In order to ease the very serious food market situation, the RSFSR Council of Ministers chairman approved a barter deal—selling an extra quantity of timber abroad in exchange for food. He also instructed the local authorities to prepare as soon as possible a program for the comprehensive development of the oblast, with the emphasis on man.

The RSFSR Council of Ministers chairman also visited the "Arkhangelskgeologiya" Production Association and site of the construction of an oblast children's hospital.

Arkhangelsk Oblast Abolishes City Committee

LD1909114190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Text] The Buro of the Arkhangelsk Oblast CPSU Committee has resolved to abolish the City Party Committee in Arkhangelsk, leaving four rayon committees. All the posts of employees of the CPSU City Committee are to be cut. This has been done at the proposal of the city's Communists.

Silayev, Solmin Visit Malyy Theater

LD1809202990

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1700 GMT on 18 September, in the "Vremya" newscast, carries a two-minute report by correspondent N. Shakhova on repairs currently being carried out at the Malyy Theater to make it ready for this fall's theatrical season. The USSR Ministry of Culture, the Moscow City Soviet, and the Russian government are rendering every assistance to the theater's collective, Shakhova says.

She interviews Silayev, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers who is visiting the theater with a group of executives.

Silayev says: "I regard our visit here today not simply as a tribute of respect to our new minister, although that is the case as well, but as a little part in the act of the renaissance of the Russian national theater. Here one can feel that the builders have already worked a fair amount. I am familiar with such situations but, for all that, taking into account the great significance of this theater for the Russian people, we will examine all the problems here.

"Next week—we hold the Presidium sessions on Fridays—we will examine the state of affairs at the Presidium, and we will adopt the relevant decisions and get things under control so that in a short period... [Silayev changes thought and asks Solomin, RSFSR minister of culture, who is seen standing at Silayev's side] What period, Yuriy Mikhaylovich?"

Solomin replies: "There is no longer any period. They finished in September now. But no one knows how long it will take now. However, the sooner it is the better."

Silayev adds: "Let us be ready in December."

Russian Trade Union Conference Opens 18 Sep

LD1909051390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1708 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow, 18 Sep (TASS)—Only independent trade unions are capable of upholding the interests of working people. This thought came to be the leitmotiv of the work of the second sitting of the constituent congress of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Federation of Independent Trade Unions [RFITU] which opened today in Moscow.

Presenting a report on progress with forming the RFITU and on its program of action its chairman, I.Ye. Klochkov, noted that the organization's sovereignty consisted above all in its independence from any attempts by state, party-political, or local administrative forces to impose their will on the trade unions to the detriment of their true aims.

Those attending the congress said that, in the present difficult economic situation, the trade unions were carefully studying the "500 days" program which envisaged an end to the crisis through a widespread transition to market relations. The republic's government and the RFITU had agreed to work out an agreement on social safeguards in connection with the transition to the market.

Attending the congress are representatives of some 40 political parties and public movements. Participants in the congress have declared that Russian trade unions will form relations with all these organizations, as well as the CPSU, on a basis of equality and partnership.

Delegates devoted considerable attention to the future development of the trade union movement within the country. In their view, it is expedient to set up, in place of the AUCCTU, and All-Union Confederation of USSR Trade Unions.

Independence Document Adopted

LD1909212490 Moscow TASS in English 2056 GMT 19 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Igor Agabekov and Vladimir Yegorov]

[Text] Moscow September 20 TASS—On the last day of its work, the Constituent Congress of Russian Trade Unions discussed legal guarantees of trade union activities.

A document, adopted by the congress, confirms trade unions' independence from state and economic bodies and political parties and their right to legislative initiative.

The move was caused by the fact that conservative forces try to diminish the role of the mass workers organisation in the republic's social and political life and equal it with minor public organisations, the document notes.

A new bill which is to be submitted to the Russian parliament allows trade unions to use their right for legislative initiative, gives them the possibility to suggest amendments to legislative acts adopted by the parliament, and, if necessary, alternative variants.

At the last session of the congress, delegates adopted the principles of mutual relations of Russian trade unions with the republican government, envisaging a constructive dialogue on social protection, ecology and labour protection, revival of rural areas and solution of housing and other acute problems.

Participants in the congress approved a draft declaration "on the rights of working people in the Russian Federation". The draft guarantees personal, civil and cultural rights to citizens of Russia.

A heated discussion was held on problems of trade union property, as attempts are made to divide it between republics and newly created social and political associations. The congress instructed the Russian Trade Union Council to discuss the issue together with the Soviet Central Trade Union Council before the 19th Soviet Trade Union Congress, due in October.

Participants were the first listeners of the hymn of sovereign Russia, based on music by outstanding Russian composer Mikhail Glinka.

First Tasks of Russian Journalists Union Defined

PM1709125590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by V. Tolstov: "Russian Journalists Union Declares Independence"]

[Text] Moscow—The newly created Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Journalists Union has declared its intention to become an economically and organizationally independent public organization.

"Although our union has been founded, the founding congress is not yet closed," USSR people's deputy V. Kucher, chairman of the provisional executive committee of the RSFSR Journalists Union, said. "By the second stage of the congress statutes have to be elaborated and organizational principles defined. We want to create an independent and economically viable creative organization. The congress has instructed us to start up a dialogue with government bodies concerning supplies of paper, the rising price of paper, and the conditions in which publications are distributed. "One of the Russian Journalists Union provisional executive committee's immediate tasks is to create an independent press and media workers' trade union."

"We intend to detach ourselves from the culture workers' trade union," union secretary V. Simonyan said. "This trade union has not shown itself to be a conscientious protector of our interests. It is no accident that the USSR Journalists Union has often had to perform trade union functions itself. I believe that in the future the creative union and the trade union will each do its own thing."

"The new trade union's statutes have been devised already. They are based on proposals from journalists' primary organizations. The discussion of them in publishing houses and editorial offices has shown that the trade union's traditional organizational structure does not meet modern demands. The RSFSR Journalists Union proposes the formation of a trade union that will include journalists, editors, printers, and technical staff. This idea guarantees equality for all groups of media personnel. Journalist, proofreader, and printer will enjoy the social protection of the trade union to an equal degree. The Journalists Union will bring together only the creative personnel and will deal solely with their professional problems."

This is the rough outline. If any colleague has other suggestions, the Russian Journalists Union is happy to receive them at the following address: "Avto" Weekly Editorial Office, Apartment Building 11, 2d Lesnoy Alley, Moscow 125047.

Conflict Over Sharing Local Power Assessed

90UN2805A Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 Aug 90 pp 2-3

[Article by S. Kuznetsov, Leningrad Soviet deputy and chairman of the Krasnogvardeyskiy Rayon Ispolkom: "Where Is the Two-Humped Camel Going?"]

[Text] **The first sessions of soviets at various levels are behind us. However a period of purposeful, concerted, and effective work is failing to begin despite the vigor of the deputies elected, to say nothing of the hopes of our people who have lost faith.**

There is nothing more convincing for a common voter than changes for the better in his own rayon, city, or oblast. Alas, as they would say. Alas. Meanwhile, both the deputies who find themselves in the spotlight of expectations of the public and new "apparatchiks" from executive committees note mounting internal contradictions in the structures of power with alarm. The tangles of contradictions have also emerged. Mutual relations between superior and subordinate soviets are the first tangle, and relations between local soviets at all levels, and primarily their presidiums and their own ispolkoms [executive committees], are the second one.

Vertically

We should recall the chronology of the emergence of a new power structure so that our respected readers will be able to become convinced that what is happening is real.

The rumble of a forthcoming storm was heard as early as the first session of the Leningrad Soviet. At that time, distinct references were made in the speeches of a number of deputies to the conservative attitude of rayon soviets and the consequent need to concentrate the main functions of power at 6 Isaakiyevskaya Street. If we call a spade a spade, this amounted to a complete lack of respect for the will of the voters. Actually who has the right to make a selection from the deputy corps, including an unconstitutional redistribution of the powers of the soviet, without the participation of the voters and behind their backs? This fact is all the more lamentable because a fundamental democratic principle is readily sacrificed in the name of short-term political opportunism under the old slogan "The end justifies the means."

The same processes got under way in the capital city. An attentive observer could not but notice this: For instance, today Ilya Zaslavskiy, a well-known member of the Interregional Group of Deputies and chairman of Moscow's Oktyabrskiy Rayon Soviet, says one thing in the press about the role of rayon soviets, whereas tomorrow Yuriy Luzhkov, chairman of the Moscow City Ispolkom, says quite another....

Meanwhile, in Leningrad the rayon soviets, initially left to their own devices by the Leningrad Soviet but inspired by the extensive rights set forth in the USSR Law on Local Self-Government, got vigorously involved in asserting themselves. While getting accustomed to the rights of owners of everything that is located within their jurisdiction, they placed the rayon divisions of municipal services under their control as they went along.

The scared presidium of the Leningrad Soviet officially announced on its second try, on 31 July, that the right to own the land and the non-residential stock of Leningrad is its prerogative, thus undercutting the economic operating foundation of rayon soviets. Finally the confrontation was put in an organizational context: A permanent coordinating conference of the presidiums of rayon soviets of people's deputies of Leningrad was set up.

WHERE IS THE WAY OUT? We are proceeding toward a self-regulating market economy. Demonopolization and the privatization of property are crucial conditions for the emergence of people's power in the process. If this is the case, we will have to begin by decentralizing the functions of state management of our city's economy while simultaneously creating conditions for the development of a multi-sectoral market economy. Under our conditions, this process will not develop in the absence of an effort by the representative organs of power.

This is why it is exactly the rayon soviets who should be the ones to ensure the vital functions of our city's economy under the transitional conditions of a crisis, while on the other hand providing active support for the emerging small state, cooperative, and private businesses. The jurisdiction of the city soviet is determined by the delegation of authority from lower to higher echelons. In the process, the systems of the city's economy are divided into all-city and rayon ones.

What should be categorized as all-city systems?

To my mind, the following should be the property of the Leningrad Soviet with the right of ownership, administration, and use: transportation routes, energy supply mains, bridges and embankments, means of communication, ports and piers, and sewage treatment facilities of citywide significance. In addition, by a mutual contract between the city soviet and the rayon soviets, so should be thoroughfares of citywide significance, architectural monuments, cultural, and economic structures of citywide significance as well as plots of land in the downtown area and the prospective zones of comprehensive development.

The following should be made the responsibility of the Leningrad City Ispolkom: management of the energy and transportation facilities of the city, local industry, and the housing stock which constitutes the municipal property of the city; utilization of natural resources and the banking system and exchanges; ensuring the ecological safety of the populace and the supply of goods within the confines of centralized quotas; maintaining public order; architectural monuments.

Horizontally

The second knot of contradictions was ultimately "tied" at the First Congress of Russian People's Deputies, the Constituent Congress of the Russian Communist Party, and the 28th CPSU Congress. Delegates from outlying provinces shouted at the top of their voices about confusion in the powers of the presidiums of soviets and their ispolkoms. In keeping with the common Russian habit, they proposed surgical means to bring these outrages to an end. B. Gidaspov, head of the Leningrad CPSU organization, was the most radical of all. He came out resolutely in favor of the institution of presidential vice-regents instead of the staggering two-humped camel of soviet power.

B. Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, also rose to this challenge of our time. He proposed that the Sverdlovsk Oblast Soviet combine the positions of chairmen of the soviet and the ispolkom on an experimental basis. Having thought it over, the Sverdlovsk deputies opted for their variant: to elect a soviet chairman with two first deputies for executive and legislative affairs. However, an element of disturbance was introduced; the election of a "universal" mayor did not work out.

What about our city? We got by without experiments. However, rayon soviets themselves claimed someone else's powers in the process of fighting "the top echelon" for their sovereignty. Repeated attempts began to directly subordinate the ispolkoms to the presidiums of soviets in terms of operations, to subordinate the organs of executive power to the organs of legislative power. Even the takeover of the functions of ispolkoms by the rayon soviets ceased to be perceived as absurd.

The committee of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet headed by N. Travkin is guided by the aspiration to solve this acute problem by legislative means. However, it is impossible to do so unless the roots of the present crisis are revealed and the concept of local power itself is reconsidered. The correlation of legislative and executive power at the local (municipal) level is the key issue.

An overwhelming majority of deputies, if not all of them, made the principle of separating the functions of power their election slogan. However, having become legislators they got confused and in many cases even began to deny the very possibility of separation at the local level. Allow me to ask: In this case, what can be ensured by combining populism as the universal mode of expressing the will of the people on the one hand with competent and result-oriented management on the other?

Let us not be naive. The operation of executive authorities represents a cohesive system of managerial actions and economic and non-economic relations of which reasonable centralization and a hierarchical structure are mandatory elements—mandatory indeed! The result of direct interference in these activities by non-professional elected organs which are responsible to the voters for the general state of affairs but are not held accountable for specific economic measures is understandable. Clearly, the disorganization and anemia of the organs of executive power are the result.

Perhaps the new rayon soviets and their presidiums are prepared to accept all kinds of rebukes, but they will reject with indignation charges of adhering to the thrice cursed command-administrative system. However, their current approach to executive power is based on nothing but a vulgar technocratic idea of the mode of exercising their rights by soviets which carries on the worst traditions of the System. The exaggerated mistrust of all apparatus structures also belongs here. As a result, the actions of the presidiums of soviets with regard to their ispolkoms are reminiscent on occasion of the methods party committees used during the time of a complete CPSU monopoly on power.

Is it really that difficult to separate these powers? After all, it is clear that the key task of the corps of deputies, permanent and ad-hoc commissions, and presidiums of the local soviets is to work out a policy that reflects the will of the voters, a policy at the level of concepts and target-oriented programs, as well as to create through the promulgation of norms a favorable legal environment for the actions of their executive committees implementing this policy. In the process, the operation of soviets naturally addresses the future whereas specifics of the present day remain the prerogative of the ispolkoms.

The separation of powers presupposes their relative independence. This is elementary. Let us recall how complicated the procedures are for canceling the decisions of executive authorities in countries with developed parliamentary systems. Perhaps we should make the forms of interaction of legislative and executive authorities even more rigid under our conditions, where a stable democratic tradition is absent and universal legal nihilism rules supreme.

It is necessary to **literally** comply with the principle according to which the soviets form their organs of executive power, perform current monitoring of their operations by deputies, and enjoy the right to impeach them and their leaders. On the other hand, the ispolkoms should be autonomous in their routine operations. Their decisions cannot be canceled by the soviets except through court proceedings or prosecutorial supervision.

Only in this case will we obtain a rigid, stable triangle of effective power rather than a staggering two-humped camel.

The emerging crisis is too serious and significant for the future to ignore it. The conditions are ripe for organizing in Leningrad a "roundtable," a social assembly with the participation of the Leningrad Soviet, the rayon soviets, and committees of public self-management with sociopolitical organizations, movements, and parties represented in the soviets playing a consolidating role.

Environmentalists Warn of Threats to Moscow

PM1109160590 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 8 Sep 90 Second Edition p 6

[Report by B. Nikolayev under "Firsthand Report" rubric: "General Plan of Moscow for Expert Analysis"]

[Text] Moscow—Recently the general plan for the long-term development of Moscow and its oblast has been at the center of public attention. The most diverse forces were involved in preparing it. But on this occasion it was the environmental protection agencies which were to make a significant contribution, even though for many years they had been totally ignored. The capital's limits have stretched like elastic, the city has grown up into the sky, somber tower blocks wedged side by side have obliterated the city's appearance, inflicting hideous scars on it and destroying its greenery. Things have gone so far that there are now just over four meters of greenery per inhabitant in the center of Moscow against the norm of 24. Such are the details!

In life things are more mundane however. The glories of Moscow have long been widely extolled. But surely never before has it been called a "garbage dump." Nowadays, however, you do hear such nasty and offensive remarks about it. Unfortunately they are not that far from the truth. Moscow is now crammed full of enterprises and offices and choked with traffic. Heat and energy supply problems are acute. Making sense of this chaos is extremely difficult. That was why a full-scale environmental study of the draft General Plan was carried out. It was discussed recently at the USSR State Committee for Environmental Protection under N.N. Vorontsov's chairmanship.

The draft General Plan for the Development of Moscow was presented by G. Yusin, deputy director of the city's General Plan Scientific Research and Planning Institute; G. Kadyshev, chief architect of the State-Cooperative Scientific Research and Planning Institute for the Urban Development of Moscow Oblast; and V Vladimirov, director of the Urban Development Institute. They are competent people with a very high level of specialist knowledge.

But even they could find no arguments against the major objections of the representatives of the USSR and RSFSR State Committees for Environmental Protection or other interested organizations who had noticed in the draft under discussion defects both major and minor which might lead to what is virtually an economic catastrophe in the capital. The collegium heard this phrase: "It is believed that by the year 2010 the population of Moscow may be approaching 15 million. And if Moscow becomes a new Mexico City...."

I think that there is no need to comment on what might happen then. After all, the Mexican capital is regarded as virtually a doomed city. And it is horrifying even to think that something similar could happen to Moscow. And there is another comment which eloquently testifies to the colossal scale of the difficulties facing our capital now: "The solution of Moscow's problems is far more complex than solving the problems of space...." There is nothing to add to that, except perhaps to note how alarming the capital's future could be if its environmental problems are disregarded.

The result of the enlarged session of the collegium was summarized by N.N. Vorontsov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Environmental Protection. He drew the audience's attention to the capital's most urgent problems and the very complex environmental situation the city is currently experiencing. Nikolay Nikolayevich noted: "Generally speaking, on this occasion the contribution made by the experts studying the most acute present-day environmental problems was significant. Common sense prevailed. The only pity is that the session was not attended by representatives of Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee. After all, it is the wisdom and correctness of their actions that will largely determine the solution of the capital's many problems. Such disregard for the ecologists' important advice is clearly not to the Executive Committee's credit.... [No closing quotation marks as published]

Emerging Political Groups in Leningrad Described

90UN2808B Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 25 Aug 90 p 3

[Article by TASS correspondent V. Ganshin: "Parties, Parties, Parties..."]

[Text] The stormy political life of the country is clearly reflected in Leningrad. The city of three revolutions has become an "incubator" of new parties. Where are they heading? What are they calling for?

The tricolored flag of the Russian empire was raised by the Free Democratic Party of Russia whose northwestern branch was established in Leningrad.

The Free Democrats are opponents of communist ideology. Among them are those who have left the CPSU. But while rejecting Marxist-Leninist teaching, they are for the right of existence of all parties within the framework of the constitution.

"Does this mean that you are neutral when it comes to the CPSU?" was the question that was asked of Leningrad engineer K. Tumanov, one of the three cochairmen of the SDPR [Free Democratic Party of Russia].

"No. We declared publicly that we are in opposition to the CPSU and that we consider our most immediate task to be the consolidation of all of the democratic forces of Russia in the struggle to remove it from power. You see, while retracting their words the Communists are attempting to maintain their power in fact.

The constituent congress of the Humanitarian Party, which ties its hopes to a "humanitarian transformation of humanity," was held in July in Leningrad. It is with this that the party explains its entry into the political arena. In the draft program, the future is declared as "value number one." The present, in the opinion of the leaders of the Humanitarian Party, promises "a global and mortally dangerous crisis whose origins are in the foundation of present-day civilization and in the commodity type of productive activity of contemporary humanity."

There are plans to hold the first congress of the Republican People's Party in autumn. "In a political sense, we will oppose the left radicals and social-extremists," said V. Antonov, chairman of the provisional soviet of the party. The party will adhere to the principal of preserving and popularizing the moral-religious values of the Russian Orthodox Church, goodness, conscientiousness, love of fellow-men, honor, and dignity.

The party of the "greens" has to its credit a number of rather important achievements. There are more than 150 individuals in the party now. The beginning of its work is associated with an examination of the activity of the land commission of the Leningrad Oblispolkom [Oblast Soviet Executive Committee] which has created a system of circumventing ecological requirements. Forgeries, fictitious documents, an absolute lack of publicity—all of this made it possible to expropriate plots of land for the construction of summer cottages in the recreation areas of Leningrad residents and in unique nature preserve areas.

The coordination soviet of the association of Leningrad Communists, "Democratic Platform in the CPSU," has taken on itself the authority of the organizational committee for the creation of a new party—the Russian Democratic Platform Party. It is conceived, the coordinators believe, as a parliamentary party which is achieving political leadership in elections in an honorable struggle with other political parties.

The Petersburg Monarchist Center, which announced itself on 19 May, the official name day of the last Russian sovereign Emperor Nicholas II, is seeking supporters and inviting people into its ranks.

The "National League," whose social direction consists of strengthening the rights and interests of Russian entrepreneurs whose minds and energies are capable of putting the motherland on the path of genuine progress, are making preparations for the elections of 1994-1995.

The Young Liberal Democratic Party, which considers itself an alternative to the Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] in the sphere of the competition of ideas, has determined that its main task is to present the young person with "an opportunity to develop normally."

One cannot fail to mention here the aphorism of the German philosopher George Christopher Lichtenberg: "The absence of any party affiliation is artificial. A person is always a member of a party, and he is profoundly right in this. The absence of a party affiliation is itself a party affiliation.

Leningrad Anti-Pollution Center Established

LD0809203590 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 8 Sep 90

[Text] An anti-pollution center has been set up in Leningrad. It has united about 100 educational establishments, scientific research institutions, and enterprises. One of the center's chief tasks is to protect the Neva River and the Bay of Finland against pollution. The pollution level of the river and the bay arouses grave concern.

Meanwhile one of Europe's largest purification facilities has become operational on Belyy Island.

City Soviet Declares Vladivostok 'Open City'

LD1909144690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1258 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Text] Vladivostok, 19 Sep (TASS)—The deputies of the first session of the city soviet of a new convocation, which opened today in the Maritime Kray center south of the Soviet Far East, unanimously adopted a decision to proclaim the city of Vladivostok an open city. This decision provides for unimpeded entry to and residence in the city for citizens and nationals of any country, and also for foreign ships to call freely at the port. From now on the city is declared open for free enterprise in accordance with the laws of the Russian Federation and the status of a free economic zone. It is now up to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and the RSFSR Council of Ministers which must lift existing departmental restrictions for Vladivostok and "ratify" the decision of the city soviet session.

Komi Leadership Cables Gorbachev on Situation

LD2009093190 Moscow TASS in English 0922 GMT 20 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Viktor Makarov]

[Text] Syktyvkar September 20 TASS—The leadership of the Komi autonomous republic has sent a message to President Mikhail Gorbachev and other heads of the Soviet Union and Russia, informing them about the critical situation in the republic.

The leadership demands urgent measures to ensure the centralised supply of consumer goods, especially foodstuffs. The republic opposes ultimatum methods, but if supplies are not ensured, the Komi republic will have to switch to barter exchange, the message notes.

The republic has to receive a reply. A Komi government delegation has left for Moscow to discuss the situation, as there are no products in shops and reserves at storehouses are thinning out.

Tension is growing in the republic, which could lead to mass disturbances. The republican parliament is discussing holding an emergency session to search for ways out of the crisis.

The difficult situation on the consumer market, especially on the food market, is the result of many republics' refusal to deliver foodstuffs and consumer goods to the centralised fund, from which the Komi republic receives supplies. The republic has implemented its plan for deliveries to the centralised state fund by 98 percent.

Addresses to the leadership of republics and regions, which have to supply the Komi republic with consumer goods and foodstuffs, remain unanswered.

RSFSR's Udmurt Adopts Sovereignty Declaration

LD1909205890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2000 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Text] At an extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet of the Udmurt Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, after two days of lively discussion, a draft declaration on the republic's state sovereignty, submitted by the constitutional commission, has been adopted. Henceforth it will be called the Udmurt Republic [Udmurtskaya Respublika]. It will continue to form part of the Russian Federation.

Protest Over Transfer of Party Building

90UN2808 Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Aug 90 p 2

[Article by I. Losev: "Passions Around the Raykom"]

[Text] There is a stand with information and a group of people picketing in front of the building of the Krasnogvardeyskiy CPSU Raykom [Rayon Party Committee]. Its organizer is S.D. Slugina, co-chairman of the Krasnogvardeyskiy people's front. I asked her to explain the reason for Sunday's picketing of the party raykom building.

"There is a personal order of V.Ya. Khodyrev, the former mayor of Leningrad, following decision No. 366 of the ispolkom [executive committee] of the Leningrad Soviet of People's Deputies concerning the so-called sale of the building of the Krasnogvardeyskiy Raykom to the Leningrad CPSU Obkom [oblast committee]. We do not agree with this decision because, first, the building was 'sold' for 202,000 rubles [R] when its value was substantially higher; second, in the opinion of the Krasnogvardeyskiy people's front, in the present situation the actions of the then Leningrad Soviet Ispolkom and its chairman Khodyrev is a cynical challenge to public opinion and to the new staff of the soviets. The session of the Leningrad Soviet of People's Deputies revoked decision No. 366 within the city limits, and the session of the rayon soviet declared the act of the purchase and sale of the building to be illegal, but the CPSU Raykom refuses to execute the decision of the Soviet authority and, very likely, the question will be determined in prolonged litigation."

That is the view of the problem held by the organizers of the picketing. But here is what V.K. Borisov, the first secretary of the Krasnogvardeyskiy CPSU Raykom, believes:

"The act of the purchase and sale of the raykom building was carried out in complete conformity with legislation in effect. At the same time, the picketing was not sanctioned by the ispolkom of the rayon soviet. The picketers are simply trying to wage a slanderous campaign against the CPSU and V.I. Lenin, using the situation around the raykom building only as a pretext."

In conclusion I will venture to express a personal opinion: Aspiring to a rule-of-law state, it is well to remember that it is not through picketers and rallies that disputes should be resolved but through the Law. Especially since the raykom, as V. Borisov asserts, is ready for a dialogue with documents in hand.

Rayon First Secretary Shuts Down Cooperative

PM1909081790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 14 Sep 90

[Report by V. Vasilenko, A. Rubtsov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Correspondent] A year ago there was a garbage dump at this site. Thanks to people's enterprise the Alyans Production Cooperative grew up here within a short time. With the help of sponsors' money, new equipment for the production of bricks was bought. And as of 1 August 1990 the entire cooperative became part of the Moskva Production Association. The unit was boosting its output when suddenly....

[Alyans Cooperative Chairman N.L. Yalunin] On the strength of a decision—a personal decision by S.P. Otamas, first secretary [of the party rayon committee] who is also chairman of the rayon soviet of people's deputies—the property of the Alyans production unit was confiscated to be disposed of as he saw fit.

Everything that has been built with the hands of this collective must remain the property of this collective. It is for the collective to decide what is to happen to this property and how is future output is to be distributed.

[Correspondent] This type of action is at variance not just with the Russian decree on power but also with the law on ownership and the USSR Council of Ministers resolution on the establishment of small enterprises. Why have so many laws been infringed?

[S.P. Otomas, first secretary of Petrovskiy Rayon Party Committee, Stavropol Kray] The conduct of former Cooperative Chairman Yalunin was totally inappropriate as regards bricks and as regards wages. His... this is why we have taken this action.

[Correspondent] And what does the unit's collective think?

[Unidentified worker] Many of us have families. We need to earn money. Meanwhile work has been suspended. Those who are responsible for this have their salaries. They draw their pay and they don't give a fig about us, as the saying goes.

[Unidentified worker] They have suspended production. That is absolutely the worst thing. No matter whether anyone is guilty or not guilty. It is of no importance. They had no right to suspend production.

Chita City Soviet Bans People's Front Rally

PM2009092390 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Sep 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "People's Front on the Offensive"]

[Text] According to a POSTFACTUM Agency report, the Chita People's Front leadership has decided to take the city soviet of people's deputies to court for banning a city rally in September.

A few days ago, the Chita People's Front leadership issued a statement proposing radical measures to ensure the supply of potatoes and vegetables for citizens. Members of the Chita People's Front aktiv proposed that two questions be discussed at the rally: "Completion of the harvest" and "The current political situation."

The city soviet executive committee justified its decision to ban the rally by reference to the complex sociopolitical situation in the city and the threatened disruption of agricultural work.

USSR Leaders Greet Saratov on 400th Anniversary

PM1909132790 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Sep 90 Second Edition p 1

[USSR leaders' untitled message to Saratov City]

[Text] To the inhabitants of Saratov and the Saratov City Soviet.

We cordially congratulate the inhabitants of Saratov on the 400th anniversary of their city which has recorded striking chapters in the history of Russia and the Soviet Union. Together with the rest of the Soviet people, the people of Saratov made a substantial contribution to the building of a socialist state, to victory in the Great Patriotic War, and to the realization of the homeland's mighty material and spiritual potential.

Closely linked by common aspirations and concerns to the other cities and regions of the country, Saratov earned a reputation as a center of revolutionary, labor, and cultural traditions on the Volga. The names of many of your outstanding fellow citizens have gone down in the annals of the political, scientific, and other spheres of the people's spiritual life.

Through the labor and talent of Saratov's working class and intelligentsia it became a major industrial and cultural center, a city of higher educational establishments and burgeoning academic science.

We are convinced that the people of Saratov will continue to add to their city's honor and glory and advance confidently along the path of revolutionary perestroyka, countering the forces that would push our society into civil confrontation.

We wish all the city's inhabitants success in labor, in creative work, and in the implementation of progressive transformations in the name of social justice, prosperity, and health for every family.

[Signed] USSR President M. Gorbachev, USSR Supreme Soviet Chairman A. Lukyanov, and USSR Council of Ministers Chairman N. Ryzhkov.

Rush of Exports Chokes Far East Railroads

PM1909094990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 15 Sep 90

[Report by O. Padenko, A. Yushchenko from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The country's railroads are becoming a constant topic of conversation due to the mismanagement, overt and covert violations, and disorder which reigns on them. An emergency situation is also developing along thousands of kilometers of sections of the Transsiberian Railroad in the Far East.

[Correspondent] There is not a railroad station in the east of the country without freight cars, flat cars, gondolas, and tank cars laden with all kinds of goods, marooned there for the umpteenth time this year. Sidings are chockablock with them and only narrow corridors remain for the passage of trains. Unless these are kept open, traffic may grind to a halt. The muddle in the transportation sphere is exacerbated by the fact that dockers in Vladivostok, Nakhodka, Vostochnyy, and Vanino ports, as a result of their efforts to help out railroad workers as far as possible, are now finding it hard to cope with the goods that have piled up on quaysides.

How much rolling stock is standing idle around here?

[G.I. Bushuyev, chief of the freight department] On the Vladivostock section as a whole more than 7,000 freight cars.

[V.A. Popov, deputy chief of Nakhodka merchant port] As regards all this bedlam in general, and deliveries of export goods through our port in particular, I blame the two main bodies which attend to foreign economic activity in our country—the Promeksport [All-Union Industrial Exports Association], and the Promsyryeimport [All-Union Industrial Raw Materials Import-Export Association].

[Correspondent] And it all began with the Union government's call to increase the sales of export goods. Everyone rushed to earn foreign currency without bothering to coordinate their actions with the transport workers, entirely in line with established bad practice. After all, the railroads have strict instructions to accept all export goods. And so the railroads, and now also

Maritime Kray, have been transformed into a gigantic depot on wheels, and one which is incurring multimillion losses.

Timber Shortages Affect Enterprise Operations

PM1909124390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 16 Sep 90

[Report by L. Erkomayshvili and B. Zhivkov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] [Erkomayshvili] In its time, the Lobva Timber Combine has won many official citations. It is still among the best, although the situation has changed sharply—timber resources are being exhausted and the green movement is spreading. This will require a new approach toward the utilization of what is its raw material, although the term sounds strange—felled timber. The Lobva people utilize more than 98 percent of the timber they receive. Secondary processing of waste produces technological wood chips, packaging shavings, thermal insulation slabs for buildings, facing materials for summerhouses, and something new: dry sawn briquettes, a high-energy fuel. But because of the timber shortage, the enterprise is operating at just two-thirds capacity. And an almost 50-percent reduction in timber procurements is planned for next year. [passage omitted]

Sverdlovsk City Short of Food, Issues Ultimatum

PM1909104190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Sep 90 Second Edition p 1

[PRAVDA correspondent S. Ryabov report under the "Harvest Hour" rubric: "They Have Acknowledged Their Impotence"]

[Text] Sverdlovsk Oblast—The Sverdlovsk City Soviet of People's Deputies recently agreed to take a desperate step. A decision provoked by the critical situation that has arisen with regard to the food supply for the oblast center's inhabitants has been sent to the country's president, M.S. Gorbachev, and to N. Ryzhkov and I. Silayev, chairmen of the USSR and RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Councils of Ministers respectively.

The message said inter alia that Mordovia, Chuvashia, Bashkiria, Krasnodar Kray, and Lipetsk and Orenburg Oblasts have this year failed to supply workers in the Central Urals with many thousands of tonnes of meat. What is more, by no means a full quota of sugar, imported tobacco products, and so on has been received.

Deputies said that if the Union and republic governments continue to fail to take steps to allocate reserve products, the city soviet will be forced to take extreme steps and even cease to provide Sverdlovsk's enterprises with output under the state order.

The city soviet reckons that the acute shortage of food and consumer goods can be eradicated if, for a start, they are allowed to use up to 20 percent of the volume of the state order to meet their own needs. And second, if the soviet is given control over foreign currency which will partially compensate for the cost of the output produced under military-industrial complex orders.

You will agree that the people's deputies have taken an unusual and decisive step. This is understandable. Admittedly, it is still not known how the Union and Russian governments will react to the ultimatum issued by the people of Sverdlovsk.

But what ideas does this message prompt? Why are the local authorities and party and soviet organs incapable of acting in an equally principled and bold manner to provide themselves with the products grown in their own fields? When will the numerous resolutions and decrees regarding aid for the countryside in bringing in the 1990 harvest be followed up with practical actions? Lastly, why have the appropriate steps not as yet been taken against the comrades responsible who have blatantly sabotaged collective decisions?

These questions are raised by life itself and by the progress of the harvest campaign. Here are just a few examples that eloquently attest to the emergency situation in the oblast's farms. By 13 September grain crops had been threshed on only 405,500 of 700,000 hectares. That is the lowest rate of harvesting in the last 10 years. As a result state resources have received little more than 40,000 of the planned 150,000 tonnes of grain.

The potato situation is even worse: Potatoes have only been lifted on one-third of the entire area under crop. Today thousands of tonnes of potatoes and vegetables are lying in boxes and sacks on the oblast's fields. The oblispolkom [oblast soviet executive committee] did decide at one time to dispatch 1,816 trucks and 5,400 loaders to move out the harvest. However less than half of the vehicles and only 2,000 workers reached their "destination...."

"We will not go and get the potatoes!" deputies from Sverdlovsk's Kirovskiy and Verkh-Isetskiy Rayons categorically stated and kept this pledge with a stubbornness that could have been put to better use.

What about the city soviet leadership? Were they indignant at their colleagues' actions? Did they try to convince the latter of the absurdity of their position? Nothing of the sort!

To complete the picture I would add that the oblast center's inhabitants need to lay in a stock of 97,000 tonnes of poatates to see them through a normal winter. To date less than one-tenth of their requirements have been transported and even less put into storage.

North Ossetian Marxism Institute Restructured

LD1809192590 Moscow TASS in English 1631 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Text] Vladikavkaz September 18 TASS—The North Ossetian republican communist party committee decided to restructure the Marxism-Leninism University and courses to improve skills of party, soviet and ideological staff at the republican communist party committee into a political science institute.

The new institute will be the centre to predict political processes in the autonomous republic and work out specific recommendations.

Krasnoyarsk Decides To Remove Chernenko Bust

PM1909131590 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Sep 90 p 4

[Report by V. Nelyubin: "Refuge for Hero"]

[Text] The Krasnoyarsk City Soviet Presidium has adopted a decision to dismantle a bronze bust of K.U. Chernenko, former general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, which has "adorned" one of the central squares of the city on the Yenisey for exactly eight years.

As was announced in the city soviet, the decision is not a political one and was adopted because the bust was not erected "in accordance with set procedure." The point is that K.U. Chernenko was born not in Krasnoyarsk but in the village of Bolshaya Tes in Krasnoyarsk Kray's Novoselovskiy Rayon.

The city soviet presidium requested the USSR Supreme Soviet to consider the question of the bust's siting. And it will be quite difficult for our parliamentarians to find an answer to it since the ex-general secretary's native village is located at the bottom of the Krasnoyarsk reservoir.

But for the time being it has been decided to hand over the bust of the general secretary and three-times hero into the safekeeping of the Krasnoyarsk Museum of Regional Studies.

Western Republics

Belorussia, Tajikistan Sign Economic Agreement

LD1809200790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 18 Sep 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] In Minsk, government delegations of Belorussia and Tajikistan have signed the agreement on economic cooperation between the two republics for the period until 1996.

Ukrainian Deputy Discusses Union Treaty

90UN2799A Kiev KOMSOMOLSKOYE ZNAMYA in Russian 22 Aug 90 p 3

[Interview with V.B. Grinev, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, in Moscow by KOMSOMOLSKOYE ZNAMYA parliamentary correspondent V. Dolganov; date not given: "V. B. Grinev: 'The Last Empire Is Crumbling'"]

[Text] **Consultations recently took place in Moscow between delegations of the republic supreme soviets and representatives of the center on the upcoming conclusion of a new Union treaty. The group delegated by the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium included Vladimir Borisovich Grinev, deputy chairman of our parliament. KOMSOMOLSKOYE ZNAMYA correspondent V. Dolganov interviewed him.**

[Grinev] Today we are observing a quite interesting political situation within the country, a situation that I would call a dualism similar to the particle-wave dualism in physics: While it is a particle, it is also a wave. Our republics finds themselves in a very similar situation. On the one hand, they are part of a federation. There is a constitution, laws, a president. This structure exists. But on the other hand, the republics have, unexpectedly for many, become sovereign states. At least this is what has been stated in the declarations. And how can this be: At first glance, the one seems to contradict the other. But this is just like the way in which the wave excludes the particle, and vice versa. That is, we must live within the framework of this dualism. And our success or failure will depend on how carefully we take this dualism into account. If we talk about the psychology of the people engaged in considering this political phenomenon then it immediately becomes clear that the center regards the federation, in the form in which it actually exists, as the basis of our movement along the path of transformations—this is the psychology. Most of the republics think otherwise. The republics are trying to move to this process by regarding themselves as sovereign states. This duality is now being keenly examined. In the mutual relations between the center and the republics, and in the relationships between the republics. It also affects specific people—the president and the members of his council, and the people engaged in negotiations on behalf of the Union. For example, when the Ukraine held such talks in the Granovitaya Palace this could also be sensed. Of course, there were no words from the representatives of the center that "we must build a renewed Union." But the logic of renewal was present. We must impart a new ring to the Union, they said. And the logic of the republics, which have tried to break out of the old circle and advance along the road of sovereign states, was not very well received. Of course, we must be realists: There are as yet no sovereign states, but neither are they in the federation in the form in which it used to exist. I think that the logic of political development must now be this: The republics move to conclude a Union treaty, but as sovereign states. And the old federation is dying. "The King is dead! Long Live the King!"

[Dolganov] Vladimir Borisovich, let me ask a question immediately. We see a structure that is very reminiscent of the British Commonwealth. But there the countries are at about the same stage of development. Here we have 15 states at quite different levels of development. There is Latvia, for example, and then there is Turkmenia. How can they be combined?

[Grinev] This is one of the major problems. Can such different states exist in a political conglomerate? This is a serious question, on both the practical and the theoretical planes. And so at least two principles must be decided in this process—delegation of political power from the bottom up, and a differentiated approach to the republics. This may mean that each republic transfers part of its own powers to the center. As Yeltsin has so aptly said, "the center may swallow up" that portion of power.

[Dolganov] Judging from the results of the initial consultations with the Ukraine, the center is taking a quite firm stand. With all due respect it is a Sharikov attitude: Gather everything together and then divide it. How can a Union treaty be concluded with this kind of diktat from the center?

[Grinev] What is the center in the process of concluding a Union treaty? Today it is no more than some kind of consultation point where an attempt is being made to join the republics together. Even though it is tacitly understood that the center must possess some active powers. In my opinion, today the center should not in principle posses those powers.

[Dolganov] But today all real political and economic power is in the hands of the center.

[Grinev] Of course, within the framework of the "particle psychology." But power at the center is gradually diminishing. It cannot hold onto it if we want to realize ideas within the framework of a new Union treaty. In that treaty power will fundamentally be something else—voluntary delegation. In my opinion, the scope of that power will be very curtailed. For example, today we deduct to the center a certain percentage of profit as taxes. I think that this should not be. It is necessary to fund specific all-Union programs. From this standpoint, today's center is completely unnatural.

[Dolganov] Will there be a Union government?

[Grinev] The answer to this question can be found only by polling the parliaments. Because in fact, if we are talking about confederation, this is not a state. But on the other hand, if we consider almost unanimously that strategic defense, space exploration, and ecological problems are common to all our republic states, then how can these functions be carried on when the Union does not possess the rights of a state? That is, we find ourselves in a quite complicated political situation. The last empire is crumbling. It was on the verge of collapse even in 1917. We revived it with the help of the administrative-command system. Attempts to preserve it in this form have up to now been futile.

[Dolganov] When the previous Union treaty was concluded the goal was set of uniting the labor of different nationalities and nations so as to build a wonderful life for all. And they were united. Resources were exhausted but the wonderful life still cannot be seen, even on the horizon. But what about now? What is the task for the new Union treaty?

[Grinev] Let me name just one. If the Union disintegrates into totally independent states that, moreover, do not know how to deal with each other, then the rest of the world will see them as terribly dangerous neighbors armed with nuclear bombs and very unstable. So the world has an interest in preserving the Union. This is already incentive enough. But we should be talking about internal incentives to preserve the Union. Today, unfortunately, essentially there are none. There is just one—namely, the rapid intermingling of the nationalities in the USSR.

But there is another aspect to the question: a market economy. This could be a powerful incentive for renewal.

[Dolganov] But there are still no fundamental resolutions on the subject of ownership (the law does not work), on the subject of attracting foreign entrepreneurs... We zigzag from side to side and this is seriously worsening the economic and political situation.

[Grinev] Today the central government is balanced on the edge. The introduction of market relations is a total fiasco for the administrative system. The power that it does have is being destroyed. But without a market economy it is impossible to stabilize the Union. I am most worried about something else. The problems of the Union in the old meaning are now in the past. It is being degraded and destroyed. Perhaps a new one will arise, phoenix-like. Perhaps. But there is another serious danger, namely, that the administrative system will be preserved at the republic level.

[Dolganov] Is this what we are seeing in the Ukraine since the formation of the Masol cabinet?

[Grinev] Yes, and in Russia also. In the Ukraine we are already observing our Council of Ministers fighting actively to cast off external fetters. But at the same time it is just as active in preserving its own powers within the boundaries of the republic. There is only one solution—namely, bring the private producer, private ownership, and a normal market economy into play. But this normal market economy will immediately start to destroy the understanding of sovereignty set forth in the declarations.

What is a sovereign state? It is the army, currency, its own customs borders. Everything is its own. But this is at variance with the very idea of free cooperation among free commodity producers.

[Dolganov] Are you not afraid that supporters of the "national idea" will use these thoughts against you?

[Grinev] I am acting deliberately to evoke a negative response. Because I am a long-time enemy of the narrow national idea. When we try to move beyond it to find solutions to political and economic questions we inevitably find ourselves at an impasse. National problems are merely the consequence of economic and political problems. I am deeply convinced that it is impossible to resolve the national question without creating a normal economy. Political separatism instantaneously becomes economic exclusivity.

[Dolganov] You have been given full powers in the talks with the center by the Supreme Soviet Presidium, which has just ended its session. But are you sure that the parliament will empower you to conduct negotiations in the future from such positions?

[Grinev] No, I am not. In the old times whatever the top decided, that was it. In this case the situation is different. But we do have the right to our self-respect by formulating our own position and defending it in the parliament. I am sure that if there is among the legislators a group capable of showing common sense, then this provides an opportunity to make this thought accessible to the masses, so that it becomes a material force. There is no other way.

[Dolganov] It still seems to me that a Union treaty will be adopted along the model of and similar to previous laws, that is, presented by the president and the USSR Council of Ministers and rubber-stamped by our Congress of People's Deputies.

[Grinev] The idea of the congress adopting a Union treaty is absurd. Today the congress itself is not a spokesman for the will of the people. This last concept is a complex one. There are referendums and public opinion polls. Studying "the will of the people" is today a complicated process. In terms of style and logic it is sovereign states that are moving toward the conclusion of a Union treaty. And it is only the republic parliaments that can make the decision on the subject of a Union treaty. But I would add that the idea of such a treaty must be put to an all-Union referendum. As far as the Congress of People's Deputies is concerned, it should end its existence the moment that the Union treaty is adopted. One of the clauses in the treaty should be revocation of the all-Union Constitution. They are starting to work fully on constitutions for the Union republics, but the Union treaty will define the nature of the mutual relations between them. And even if we assume that the all-Union Constitution will remain, it must include only what is most important, namely, the Union treaty, a declaration on human rights, a provision on the power structure, and a mechanism for resolving contradictions.

[Dolganov] You talk about a referendum. But what if the people of the Ukraine do not want to adopt a Union treaty?

[Grinev] Then that is what will happen.

[Dolganov] So relations with neighbors will have to be built on a direct basis?

[Grinev] We must become accustomed to having everyone being concerned primarily for himself. And rigid pragmatism is the foundation for building mutually advantageous relations. We must not indulge in self-denigration. The Ukraine, for example, is of some use to Russia. Our republic's potential is enormous. We are linked by many economic threads and we can build normal market relations.

And there is another aspect to this. Up to now all links between the republics have been through the center. And the deformations in those links have occurred because of the logic of the center. The present development of the "logic of the center" should be shaped only by any inadequacies in the links between the republics.

[Dolganov] But, Vladimir Borisovich, today the center is millions of people who have been given power. What of those who handle distribution, and those who issue the commands? What happens to them?

[Grinev] Today the only way to deal with the center is to remove its influence over the republics. For if they are fully and consistently implemented the declarations will deprive the center of its power over the plants, mines, and so forth. But implementing the idea of depriving the departments of power should be done in parallel with the creation of direct interrepublic links and switching them into a new economic milieu.

[Dolganov] Do you not fear that the people who are now hanging on to the power that is slipping away from them may be able to bring things to civil war?

[Grinev] The cause of any interethnic dissension is economic problems. And we must be ready for even the most extreme actions from the old economic structures. Notwithstanding, I am an optimist. I think that the legal foundation that is being created in the republics is capable of preventing the situation from getting worse.

[Dolganov] Do you believe in the strength of parliamentarians and their state wisdom? For practice shows that their level as politicians is still quite low.

[Grinev] No one has trained our politicians: this is axiomatic. Even the stiffest conservatives, for example, showed themselves to be soberly thinking people during the work on and adoption of the declaration on state sovereignty.

[Dolganov] But it is still only a declaration.

[Grinev] It is stronger than many other laws. I am sure that people are changing. Within the Ukrainian parliament I can name some whose political orientation has changed noticeably just in the last three months of the session.

[Dolganov] And in conclusion, a nonparliamentary question. Each person can belong to some party or not, as he wishes. You recently announced your resignation from the CPSU. What was the motivation for this?

[Grinev] The logic of my resignation (and of the approximately 30 deputies who support the "Democratic Platform" and who resigned along with me) is this: For the CPSU the 28th congress was a wonderful opportunity to confess its sins to the people. This did not happen. Unfortunately, the CPSU still retains all the same structures of a totalitarian system—democratic centralism, the territorial-production principle for forming party organs in the Army, the Committee for State Security and the Ministry of Internal Affairs. That is, replace Gorbachev with Polozkov today and everything will still move along in the same well-trod rut. In this situation we realized that we must create our own party on the basis of the "Democratic Platform."

Ukrainian Party Chief Opposes Union Treaty

LD1909125290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1130 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Report by correspondent S. Tretyak from Bukovina, Ukraine, including recorded remarks by L.G. Lukyanenko, leader of Ukrainian Republican Party, to assembled crowd; from the "Television News Service" program]

[Announcer] The leader of the recently established Ukrainian Republican Party is on a tour of the towns of the republic.

[L.G. Lukyanenko, in Ukrainian with superimposed Russian translation] I have come here to tell you about the aims and tasks which the People's Soviet [Rada] and the Ukrainian Republican Party are setting themselves. The tasks are very difficult, because a considerable part of the Ukraine Supreme Soviet want to conclude a Union treaty. However, all the republic's democratic forces, the Republican Party above all, resolutely oppose any Union treaty.

[Tretyak] The sociopolitical altmosphere in Bukovina has of late become considerably worse. This was again confirmed by a meeting held by the oblast organization of the Ukrainian Republican Party in which its leader Levka Lukyanenko took part. At the meeting, a resolution was adopted on not passing a new Union treaty and on recalling Communist deputies from the Ukraine Supreme Soviet. [video shows mass meeting with people waving blue and yellow flags, Likyanenko flanked by priests and people, and with a cross and icon behind him]

Ukrainian Parliament Head Meets Union Leader

LD1909142990 Kiev International Service in English 2300 GMT 18 Sep 90

[Text] A meeting took place at the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine, the republic's parliament, between the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, Leonid Kravchuk, and chairman of the Ukrainian Council of Trade Unions, Anatoliy Kovalevskiy. During the talks it was underlined that the trade unions hope that parliament will take balanced decisions on market relations. They also demanded social guarantees from the government for the working people as the main prerequisites of the transfer to the market economy. They will be firmly and consistently speaking out against the lowering of living standards, for the establishment under market conditions of privileges and compensations, especially for the needy strata of the population, and the introduction of the indexation of income.

Ukrainian Republic-wide Strike Slated 27 Sep

LD1909161990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Text] The marker on the political barometer in the Ukraine has swung sharply toward a storm. The first republic-wide strike is planned for 27 September and on 1 October a demonstration will be held in Kiev with representatives from the whole republic. Both these actions are being called to create a certain atmosphere in the republic before the start of the autumn session of the Ukraine Supreme Soviet.

The initiative for these moves belongs to the strike committees in different towns in the republic and the coordinating council of the association of democratic councils and democratic blocs in the Ukrainian local soviets. Unfortunately none of the organizers of the planned actions can answer the question about the possible losses that the strike will cost, especially a national one.

Further on Strike Plans

PM2009100190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Sergey Tsikora under the "Direct Line" rubric: "General Republican Strike Being Prepared"]

[Text] Kiev—The needle of the political barometer in the Ukraine has swung sharply toward "stormy": The first general republican strike is scheduled for 27 September and a nationwide demonstration is scheduled for 1 October in Kiev.

Both the strike and the demonstration are called on to create a specific atmosphere in the republic before the opening of the fall session of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet. The initiative for holding the actions belongs to the strike committees of various cities in the republic and to the coordinating council of the association of democratic soviets and democratic blocs in the Ukrainian soviets. Representatives of nearly all the republic's regions have expressed themselves in favor of taking part in the planned actions. The exception was a few southern oblasts of the Ukraine, whose representatives have so far taken no part in preparatory measures.

What was the reason for calls for such extreme forms of protest? We find the answer to this question in an appeal entitled "To the People's Deputies of the Ukraine, the USSR, and the Local Soviets and to All Citizens of the

Republic Who Defend Democratic Transformations on the Basis of the Declaration on the Ukraine's State Sovereignty." A document signed by the Association of Democratic Soviets and Democratic Blocs in the Ukrainian Soviets says: "The dangerous slowness and inconsistency in the work of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, the persistent disregard of the numerous appeals from local soviets, and the mounting economic chaos compel the association to issue a political statement and to turn for support to the entire progressive public of the Ukraine."

The demands which are being made on the republic's Supreme Soviet are in general already familiar. They include the immediate closure of the Chernobyl nuclear electric power station and the withdrawal of Ukrainian servicemen from places of interethnic conflicts, guarantees that those drafted into the Army in the fall will stay to serve in the Ukraine, the imparting of the status of a constitutional act to the declaration on the Ukraine's state sovereignty, and the creation of a Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet commission and of the strike committees to control stocks of food and industrial goods for their priority supply to the peoples of the Ukraine... The demands also include political ones: the depoliticization of the state institutions, Army, KGB, and Ministry of Internal Affairs, the rejection of the new Union treaty, and the nationalization of part of CPSU property...

Unfortunately, none of the organizers of the planned actions has been able to answer my question about the possible sum of the losses which will be incurred by a strike, especially a nationwide one.

Physicians Falsified Chernobyl Victims' Records

PM2009085990 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Sep 90 p 2

[Report by correspondent O. Yegorova: "The Chernobyl Physicians' Case"]

[Text] Minsk—It is not getting easier as time passes. At first I thought that the talk about things not being well as regards medical treatment of people from the Chernobyl zone in Gomel Oblast, that physicians "are engaging in sabotage," and that their personal files are already being investigated by competent organs, was nothing but rumors.

Then it turned out that this was the truth. It concerned an investigation by the Gomel Oblast Prosecutor's Office into a criminal case involving the unscrupulous attitude of medical staff sent to the "zone" toward their professional duty.

First, 50,000 people, including 5,000 children, had not been examined. Medical records were available, although the screening had not taken place. "Case histories" existed, and, of course, they contained positive data. Yet it was precisely on the basis of this information that the main directive documents on Chernobyl had been drawn up.

Another screening revealed a horrific picture. One hundred percent of children under three years of age, 62 percent of children between the ages of three and seven, and 13 percent of children between seven and 15 were suffering from anemia and a whole series of other diseases—enlarged thyroid, goiter...

Nonetheless, the criminal case was quashed. After all, the republic Ministry of Health had required the physicians "to account for 100-percent screening," thus abandoning the selfsame physicians to their fate since there was not enough medical staff, diagnostic equipment, or medicines to carry out this task...

The upshot is that the physicians have been subjected to disciplinary sanctions. A few of them have been sacked. And the Ministry of Health is keeping mum. The case materials have been passed on to the Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] State Committee for Problems Concerning the Consequences of the Chernobyl Disaster. What will deputies have to say?

Caucasus

Armenian Parliament Approves New Government

LD1909184690 Moscow TASS in English 1837 GMT 19 Sep 90

[By ARMENPRES-TASS correspondents Garry Galustyan and Gagik Melkumyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 19 September TASS—The Armenian parliament today adopted the structure of the new government, proposed on monday by Prime Minister Vazgen Manukyan.

Later in the day, the parliament discussed candidates for key government posts.

Manukyan nominated Gevork Vardanyan to the post of first deputy prime minister. Vardanyan, 42, is a shop superintendent at a Yerevan decorative workshop. Manukyan described him as a good organiser who has done a lot for the Armenian national movement.

The prime minister told the parliament he believes it necessary to have two more first deputies. He said the republic needs heads of the executive body having the necessary status and empowered to sign economic agreements, various treaties with other states and sovereign soviet republics.

Manukyan suggested the appointment of Ruben Chiftalaryan as deputy prime minister for the restoration of the quake-hit zone and building. Chiftalaryan dealt with the problems in the previous cabinet.

The prime minister suggested that Mikhail Grigoryan be appointed deputy prime minister for rural issues. Grigoryan was a member of the previous government.

Manukyan also nominated several candidates for ministerial posts, mainly newcomers.

At the afternoon session, the republican parliament has appointed the majority of the nominated candidates.

State Legal Affairs Department Chief Appointed

NC2009070890 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1730 GMT 17 Sep 90

[Text] Ayaz Mutalibov, president of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic, has appointed Salik Kemaloglu Gadzhiyev as the chief of the State Legal Affairs Department of the presidential apparatus.

Arson Damages Georgian Opposition Party Building

LD1909151290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1345 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Zurab Grdzelishvili]

[Text] Tbilisi, 19 Sep—Early this morning, on Rustaveli Prospekt—the central street in the Georgian capital—an attack was carried out on the headquarters of the National Independence Party of this Transcaucasian republic.

"The incident was the work of persons as yet unknown," Vano Mezvrishvili, a member of the party, told a TASS correspondent. "The criminals broke windows and penetrated the building. They fired shots from fireams, threw Molotov cocktails into rooms, and went on a rampage. Considerable damage was caused to the headquarters themselves, to the editorial office and pulishers of the 'Droyeba' newspaper, and other adjoining rooms."

"At approximately 0400 this morning," noted Rezo Maglakelidze, chief of the Mtatsmindskiy rayon internal affairs department, "Unknown persons burst into the building using firearms and committed arson. One room was burned out. The fire was prevented from spreading. Cartridge cases from automatic weapons were discovered at the site of the incident. A similar incident occurred the same night at another building on Rustaveli Prospekt occupied by the leadership of the National Democratic Party of Georgia. Militia officers recorded traces of arson here, too, and found ammunition cartridges. Investigation bodies are investigating the incident."

Central Asia

'Strict Quarantine' Continues in Aralsk

LD1909124290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1105 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Text] Aralsk Ckzyl-Ordainskiy Oblast] 19 Sep (TASS)—The strict quarantine declared in connection with the appearance of plague in the town is still in force. Some 237 people who have been in contact with those already diagnosed as having the illness have been isolated. Thorough medical supervision has been set up for those in the isolation ward.

Doctors have arrived from Alma-Ata and Tashkent. One hundred and ten medical workers are carrying out rounds at houses, while about 100 have been sent to work in hospitals. Numerous loads of foodstuffs and medicines are arriving.

A special disinfection of the town's territory is being carried out. About 300 camels have been treated, and the goal is to urgently protect all animals against infection. More than 10,000 animals are the area. Internal Affairs administration bodies are checking that quarantine requirements which will be effective until 23 September are observed.

'Unity' Movement Launched in Kazakhstan

LD1909165690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 19 Sep 90

[Report by correspondent A. Nugmanova from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] After the Azat movement was set up—Azat means Freedom—the Unity [Yedinstvo] interethnic movement was created. Both movements enjoy labor collectives support. So what do they stand for?

[Begin recording] [Nugmanova] The Azat and Unity hold views which differ in many ways. But yesterday they sat down at the negotiating table, and after some arguments, not without mutual reproaches, adopted a draft joint statement in which they deemed it necessary to announce their adherence to the principles of the universal declaration on human rights, legality, nonviolence, and ideological tolerance. In a republic with more than 100 nationalities it is impermissible—I quote Nazarbayev, Kazakhstan's president—to build some peoples' welfare at the expense of others.

[T. Koyshibekov of Azat] I would first like to mention that the Azat is an internationalist movement. The main issue for the Azat movement is perhaps the attainment of a true state sovereignty for our Kazakh republic.

[V.I. Kurilov of Unity] The only purpose of our movement is interethnic unity and prevention of extremism.

[E.V. Lanko of Unity] We want to achieve a psychological climate in the republic which would be conducive to mutual understanding.

[Kurilov] We have a number of disagreements because we do not share a number of ideas of the Azat movement. Specifically, we have differences on the issue of a law on languages. We will be striving, through parliamentary means and through deputies, for amendments to the law on languages to be adopted.

[Unidentified man] As regards the law on the languages of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, I think and the Azat thinks that this is the most democratic law which defends the interests of the Kazakh language, one that has vanished from the face of the earth literally before the eyes of the last two generations. This status on law on languages must remain. This is our main difference with the Unity today.

[Nugmanova] One wishes to believe that the new informal movements in the republic will prevent interethnic conflicts. [end recording]

Kirghizia Supports Ryzhkov Market Economy Plan

LD2009082690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0400 GMT 20 Sep 90

[Text] Kirghiz will adhere to the government program for the transition to a market economy. This was stated by Dzhumagulov, chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, speaking on local television. The main principles of the government program for a transition to a market, he noted, make it more acceptable for Kirghizia than the one drawn up by the group of scholars under the leadership of Academician Shatalin. Kirghizia is a producer of raw materials. The majority of its income is received through the sale of meat, wool, hides, cotton, and electricity. As a result of low procurement prices the union has for may years paid subsidies as compensation. For this reason the Shatalin group's program, which envisages new relations regardless of the starting point, bodes ill for the republic. The government program, on the other hand, is based on a number of laws already adopted on the social protection of pensioners, large families, and students. The republic's prime minister noted that Kirghizia's own group of economists and experts had been at work and it has reached the view that the USSR Government's program will be proposed for discussion by deputies during the next session of the republic's Supreme Soviet.